Attitudes Toward Adoption by Same-Sex Couples:

Do Gender Roles Matter?

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Abstract

Within Canada, the right for same-sex couples to adopt children is a highly contentious issue. Despite all provinces and territories in Canada permitting adoption by gay and lesbian couples through their public agencies, this legal recognition has not been accompanied by widespread acceptance of the practice. Research advancing the understanding of the prejudice and discrimination directed toward sexual minority men and women who exercise their right to be adoptive parents is limited. In particular, few studies have considered how the perceived importance of gender role models factors into attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples. Therefore, the present study experimentally investigated attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples while considering the impact of parental gender roles on these attitudes. To accomplish this objective, this study: (1) assessed attitudes toward gay, lesbian, and heterosexual adopting couples; (2) examined if attitudes change depending on the sex of the child to be adopted; (3) assessed whether atypical gender role behaviour affects attitudes toward adoption; and (4) investigated predictors of attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples. Based on vignettes describing adoptive couples, the results revealed that no significant differences existed in ratings of adoptive couples based on their sexual orientation or the adoptive child's sex. However, the results revealed that heterosexual couples were rated more favourably when the male partner exhibited feminine gender role characteristics. Further, lesbian couples were rated significantly less favourably when both partners displayed feminine characteristics or if they both exhibited masculine characteristics as opposed to when the couple consisted of one partner exhibiting masculine characteristics and the other displaying feminine characteristics. No significant effects were found based on gender role characteristics in the analysis of vignettes describing gay male adoptive couples. Gender, religiosity, old-fashioned homonegativity, and beliefs about the

aetiology of homosexuality emerged as significant predictors of attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples. Limitations and future directions for conducting research examining attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples are discussed.

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	Adoption Council of Canada
ASI	Ambivalent Sexism Inventory
ATLG	Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale
ATLG-G	Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale – Gay Men Subscale
ATLG-L	Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale – Lesbians Subscale
AVS	Adoption Vignette Scale
CRQ	Couples Rating Questionnaire
EBS	Etiology Beliefs Scale
IAT	Implicit Association Test
KHP	Knowledge of Homosexual Parenting
MHS	Modern Homonegativity Scale
MHS-G	Modern Homonegativity Scale – Gay Men Subscale
MHS-L	Modern Homonegativity Scale – Lesbian Women Subscale
PAWS	Personalised Access to Web Services
SDS-17	Social Desirability Scale-17
SRQ	Social Roles Questionnaire

Chapter One – Introduction

As an increasing number of gay and lesbian couples are starting families, adoption by same-sex couples is becoming more prevalent (Brodzinsky, Patterson, & Vaziri, 2002; Statistics Canada, 2006). Researchers report that opponents of adoption by same-sex couples often use the absence of a female or male gender role model to justify their position (Clarke & Kitzinger, 2005; Hicks, 2008). Although some studies have assessed public attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples, few studies have considered how the perceived importance of gender role models factors into attitudes toward adoption by gay men or lesbian women. Understanding individuals' attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples is crucial given that public opinion often contributes to the decisions of policymakers (Camilleri & Ryan, 2006; Scott, 1998). This thesis explored attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples and whether these attitudes change depending on the gender role behaviour of the prospective adoptive parents. Two fundamental findings contribute to the design of this study. First, studies have shown that non-traditional families and individuals who violate their socially prescribed gender roles are liked significantly less than traditional families and individuals who behave in accordance with their gender roles (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005; Herek, 2002). Second, studies show that the heterosexual nuclear family consisting of a mother, father, and their biological offspring is considered ideal (Anderssen & Hellesund, 2009; Hicks, 2008; Riggs, 2006; Sullivan & Baques, 1999). The present study investigated how these two findings contribute to individuals' attitudes toward adoption by lesbian, gay, and heterosexual couples by considering the couples' gender role characteristics.

Adoption in Canada and the United States: Legal Background

Prospective adoptive parents who want to adopt may do so through public or private agencies or through independent contact with a child's biological parent(s). In Canada, each province's or territory's government is responsible for facilitating public adoptions within their own borders. These adoptions are free of cost for the adoptive applicants (Government of Ontario, 2010). In most cases, children available for adoption through public agencies are part of a sibling group or have medical, physical, developmental, learning, or emotional problems (Government of Alberta, 2007). On the other hand, private agencies are not associated with the state and adoption fees for this type of adoption may range between $10,000 and $25,000 for the adoption of a Canadian-born child and upwards of $25,000 to adopt internationally (Canada Adopts, 2001; Government of Ontario, 2010). Prospective adoptive parents in Canada also may find a child to adopt through the Adoption Council of Canada's (ACC) 'Canada's Waiting Children' programme; however, because this programme is not an adoption placement agency, applicants still have to use a public or private agency to facilitate the adoption (Adoption Council of Canada, 2010). Both public and private adoptions consist of a home assessment of the prospective adoptive applicants. Usually, applicants will have to complete training sessions or workshops about parenting in order to qualify to adopt. Currently, all provinces and territories in Canada allow adoption by gay and lesbian individuals or couples through their public agencies (Epstein, 2009); however, private agencies in Canada have their own policies on who qualifies as a potential adoptive parent.

In the United States, adoption procedures are dictated by each individual state (Cornell University Law School, 2010). Most states modelled their statutes on adoption after the Uniform Adoption Act, legislation by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws,

which is an association that attempts to create uniformity in laws among the American states (Cornell University Law School, 2010). The Uniform Adoption Act indicates that children may be adopted by someone who has reached adulthood and who is committed to, and capable of, caring for a child (National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, 1994). While the Uniform Adoption Act does not explicitly prohibit certain couples from adopting, individual states may have laws that disqualify certain couples. For example, some states will disqualify applicants who have physical or mental disorders or those who have criminal backgrounds or employment instability (Cornell University Law School, 2010). In 2010, Florida, the last state banning adoption by same-sex individuals, repealed a law prohibiting adoption by both gay and lesbian individuals as well as couples (CNN Wire Staff, 2010). Currently, no state has laws banning adoption by gay and lesbian individuals; however, Mississippi has banned adoption by couples of the same sex. Additionally, while some states (i.e., Michigan, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Utah) do not explicitly prohibit same-sex couples from adopting, they require that adoptive parents be married, subsequently disqualifying same-sex couples from adopting if the state does not legally recognise same-sex marriage (Human Rights Campaign, 2010). Several other states do not have explicit prohibitions or allowances given that the issue of whether a same-sex couple can or cannot jointly petition to adopt has not been presented to the state courts.

Attitudes Toward Adoption by Same-Sex Couples

Over the past thirty years, gay and lesbian civil rights organisations have achieved significant advancements in the rights accorded to sexual minorities. Canadian laws have become progressively more inclusive of gay and lesbian individuals (e.g., decriminalisation of gay and lesbian soldiers serving in the Canadian Forces, legalisation of same-sex marriage) and attitudes toward gay and lesbian individuals have been improving (Hicks & Lee, 2006; Newman,

2007). Hicks and Lee (2006) examined American public opinion polls on attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women from 1977 to 2001 and found that the American public is becoming more accepting of homosexuality. Further, Newman (2007) conducted a similar analysis focussing specifically on attitudes toward lesbian women from 1985 to 2001 and found that college students are now reporting more accepting attitudes toward lesbian individuals and have more contact with lesbian women than they did in the past. Despite these improved attitudes, one area of gay men's and lesbian women's lives that has not garnered the same degree of positivity and in which they still face undue prejudice (i.e., an evaluation, often negative, of a social group seen as having a cognitive, affective, and behavioural component; Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996; Nelson, 2002) and discrimination (i.e., unjust treatment directed toward an individual based on his or her group membership, Nelson, 2002) is that of adoption. For example, in a random sample of Canadians, Miall and March (2005) found that 50% of those surveyed considered gay and lesbian parents to be "not at all acceptable" or "not very acceptable" as potential adoptive parents. This finding suggests that, when it comes to adoption, prejudicial attitudes against gay and lesbian individuals are still prevalent among the Canadian public.

Further research assessing the attitudes of the general public toward adoption by same-sex couples has been conducted in the United States. Ryan, Bedard, and Gertz (2007) surveyed a random sample of 413 registered Florida voters about their opinions on gay men and lesbian women as adoptive parents. The majority of respondents indicated that they would not place a child with a gay or lesbian couple. The least positively rated scenario was placing a boy with a gay male parent (only 38% of respondents approved of this placement). The highest rated match was 42% of respondents approving the placement of a boy with a lesbian parent. Ryan et al.'s

(2007) study is one of the few to assess a community sample's attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples.

While Ryan et al. (2007) found that public attitudes toward adoption by gay and lesbian couples were generally unfavourable, researchers have demonstrated that negative attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples are prevalent even among those people who are considered to hold liberal attitudes (e.g., university students, psychologists, social workers). An early American study from Crawford and Solliday (1996) used vignettes describing a five-year old boy who was to be adopted to assess undergraduate students' attitudes toward adoption by gay men. The vignettes described the length of the adoptive parents' relationship, their level of education, financial situation, home environment, and career choice. Participants were told that the adoptive parents were well-liked by their friends and neighbours, had the support of their proximal social network (in the form of their parents), and were emotionally ready to adopt. The vignettes differed by sexual orientation (i.e., homosexual or heterosexual male) or race (i.e., African-American, Caucasian, or inter-racial) of the potential adoptive parents. Students who received vignettes describing homosexual male adoptive parents were more likely to view them as creating a dangerous and insecure home environment, to be more emotionally unstable, and as the least likely candidates to be awarded custody as indicated by the Couples Rating Questionnaire (CRQ; Crawford & Solliday, 1996). The CRQ included questions pertaining to the emotional stability of the couple; their parental potential; the level of emotional security the couple could provide for a child; the level of danger in the couple's home; and the likelihood that the couple would be awarded custody. It should be noted that Crawford and Solliday's (1996) sample was recruited from a Catholic university and the findings indicated that the more religiously inclined the participants, the less likely they were to give positive ratings to the

vignettes describing homosexual adoptive parents. Crawford and Solliday's (1996) study, while providing an initial understanding of attitudes toward adoption by gay couples, was limited in that they did not include vignettes depicting lesbian couples or create a scenario describing the adoption of a female child.

Rye and Meaney (2010) also used vignettes to assess Canadian undergraduate students' attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples. The vignettes described either a lesbian, gay, or heterosexual prospective adoptive couple who were trying to adopt a 3-year-old boy. Participants were asked to read one of the three vignettes and respond to 12 statements about the couples' suitability as adoptive parents and the environment they would provide for the child. Based on their responses, the results indicated that, when collapsing across participants' gender, respondents rated heterosexual couples more favourably than both gay and lesbian couples, who were evaluated similarly. However, when examining ratings of men and women separately, the researchers found that men rated gay couples least favourably and female participants rated lesbian couples least favourably out of the three couple types. Rye and Meaney (2010) attributed these results to an ego-defensive function amongst participants, which serves to protect the self from perceived threats to one's self-identity. The researchers speculated that participants likely felt that their gender identity was being threatened by couples of the same sex. The ego-defensive function is particularly relevant to homonegativity because individuals who are high in ego-defensiveness usually have strong traditional gender role beliefs and see homosexual persons as violating these roles (Franklin, 2000; Meaney & Rye, 2010), which results in negative attitudes toward these groups. Alternatively, gay or lesbian couples of the opposite sex of the participants may not have been perceived as threats to their gender identity because they were able to emphasise their differences and subsequently distance themselves from the couple.

In lieu of public opinion and students' attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples, some studies have focussed on the attitudes of adoption agency personnel. The attitudes and opinions of this group may directly affect whether or not same-sex couples will successfully adopt because they are, ultimately, the ones who approve or reject adoption applications. Brodzinsky et al. (2002) have conducted the largest study to date to assess adoption agency attitudes toward lesbian and gay prospective adoptive parents. The researchers sent 891 surveys to adoption agencies across the United States to examine their policies, practices, and attitudes regarding adoption by same-sex couples (214 were returned to the researchers). Brodzinsky et al.'s (2002) findings suggest that attitudes of agency personnel toward adoptions by same-sex couples varied as a function of both the sex of the respondent and the type of agency (i.e., public or private). Specifically, female agency workers and public agencies held more positive attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women than did male workers and private agencies. The researchers also found that public adoption agencies and Jewish affiliated agencies held more positive attitudes toward gay and lesbian parenting than agencies affiliated with mainstream religions (i.e., Protestant, Catholic, and fundamentalist Christian). Further, of the agencies surveyed, those specialising in the adoption of special needs children were the most likely to accept applications from same-sex couples, whereas agencies focussing on infant and toddler placements were the least likely. This finding corroborates the accounts of gay and lesbian adoptive parents who have indicated that it is difficult to successfully adopt young children (Matthews & Cramer, 2006).

Researchers also have assessed the attitudes of social work students, since many will be involved in the adoption process as agency workers. For instance, Camilleri and Ryan (2006) examined the attitudes of 60 Australian social work students at La Trobe University. Participants were asked to complete the CRQ (Crawford & Solliday, 1996) in response to one of three

vignettes that differed only by sexual orientation (i.e., gay, lesbian, or heterosexual) of the adoptive couple. Based on the ratings from the CRQ, the researchers found that the majority of students held liberal attitudes about adoption by same-sex couples. Lesbian couples were rated most favourably, followed by gay couples, and then heterosexual couples. However, these ratings did not differ significantly. The researchers also found that all respondents had moderate to high knowledge about homosexual parenting based on their scores on the Knowledge of Homosexual Parenting (KHP) scale, a 12-item, true or false measure that was developed by the researchers based on arguments for, and against, same-sex marriage. The researchers suggested that the non-significant differences across vignettes may be due to participants' heightened knowledge about gay and lesbian issues. A notable limitation to this study was that all participants (53 females, 7 males) were from a single social work course, thereby limiting the representativeness of the sample. Further, the study did not control for the sexual orientation of the participants or exposure to gay and lesbian individuals. Thus, it was not known if any of the respondents were gay or lesbian themselves, or whether participants had contact with gay men and/or lesbian women. Finally, the psychometric properties of both the CRQ and KHP are questionable. The reliability and validity of the KHP have not been demonstrated in the published literature and the CRQ, although used previously by Crawford and Solliday (1996), has not been rigorously investigated (i.e., validity of the CRQ has not been tested).

Researchers also have assessed the attitudes of professional groups who may have some interaction with same-sex couples who have children. Choi, Thul, Berenhaut, Suerken, and Norris (2006) sent a 30-item survey to school psychologists across the United States asking them about attitudes and feelings toward gay and lesbian parents and the training and exposure they have had in regards to same-sex parents. Two hundred and sixty-seven school psychologists

returned completed surveys. The researchers conducted an analysis of covariance (controlling for gender, sexual orientation, number of years employed, and region of employment), which indicated that school psychologists who had some formalised training about gay and lesbian parents (i.e., classes, workshops, or in-services regarding families headed by gay or lesbian parents) held more positive attitudes toward them and that psychologists who knew gay or lesbian parents also had more positive attitudes than those who did not know any same-sex parents. Choi et al. (2006) speculated that both training and exposure could ameliorate negative attitudes toward same-sex parenting.

Crawford, McLeod, Zamboni, and Jordan (1999) also conducted a study with psychologists; however, as opposed to Choi et al. (2006) who used surveys to collect data, Crawford et al. (1999) employed an experimental design in which vignettes were allocated randomly to participants. Psychologists across the United States were sent vignettes that differed by sexual orientation (i.e., gay, lesbian, or heterosexual) and child's sex (i.e., male or female). Three hundred and eighty-eight usable questionnaires were returned. Although participants held positive attitudes toward same-sex couples overall, as evidenced by their responses to a survey created by the researchers measuring attitudes toward same-sex parenting, participants had concerns about the level of social support that same-sex couples would receive and about the extent to which lesbian couples could raise a male child. Beliefs about the aetiology of homosexuality was the strongest predictor of attitudes toward same-sex parenting, with those believing that homosexuality is a choice possessing the most negative attitudes. Level of religiosity, based on participants' self-reported attendance at religious services, emerged as the second strongest predictor, with those exhibiting greater levels of religiosity having more negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian parents.

When considering the results of studies examining attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples, it should be noted that participants in studies assessing these attitudes were self-selected. For instance, Brodzinsky et al. (2002) remarked that some agencies that did not return surveys indicated they would not participate because of their moral or religious objections to homosexuality. This comment suggests that, for studies examining attitudes toward gay and lesbian parenting or adoption by same-sex couples, those who do not return completed surveys may possess negative attitudes. Across the attitudinal adoption studies soliciting participants via mail-out surveys or telephone interviews, researchers yielded, on average, a response rate of 39%. Although there is no agreed-upon standard for acceptable response rates (Fowler, 2002), Draugalis, Coons, and Plaza (2008) note that the general consensus among researchers is that half of the sample should respond to the survey instrument. Draugalis et al. (2008) warn that low response rates could lead to nonresponse error, in which the respondents and nonrespondents differ on a variable that influences, or could influence, the results of the study.

Even when these limitations are considered, research has demonstrated that significant objections exist toward adoption by same-sex couples. It appears that these objections may be based predominantly on old-fashioned homonegative beliefs. Old-fashioned homonegativity is rooted in traditional religious and moral beliefs and misconceptions about homosexuality (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). For example, the belief that homosexuals should not be allowed to work with children is a form of old-fashioned homonegativity based on the misconception that homosexuality is related to paedophilia. These negative stereotypes cause people to question gay and lesbian couples' ability and suitability to parent (McLeod, Crawford, & Zechmeister, 1999). Old-fashioned stereotypes about gay men and lesbian women that may hinder a successful adoption are that they are emotionally unstable, unable to form lasting relationships, self-

indulgent, impulsive, and have a proclivity for child abuse (DeCrescenzo, 1984; Kite & Deaux, 1987; Page & Yee, 1985; Testa, Kinder, & Ironson, 1987). In addition to the negative stereotypes characterising gay and lesbian persons, there exist concerns relating to the ramifications for children when adopted by same-sex couples (Crawford & Solliday, 1996; Patterson, 2000). For instance, researchers have found that opponents of adoption by gay and lesbian couples are concerned that children of same-sex couples will experience gender identity problems and become gay or lesbian themselves (Patterson, 2000).

Negative attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples also may be based on aspects of modern homonegativity. For example, some opponents of adoption by gay and lesbian couples fear that children of same-sex parents will be victims of increased stigma and discrimination (Patterson, 2000). Unlike its old-fashioned counterpart, modern homonegativity is characterised by more abstract concerns such as: 1) gay men and lesbian women are making illegitimate demands for change in the status quo; 2) discrimination against gay men and lesbian women is a thing of the past; and 3) gay men and lesbian women exaggerate the importance of their sexual orientation which prevents them from assimilating into mainstream culture (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). An example of a modern homonegative belief would be that gay and lesbian individuals no longer encounter discrimination due to their sexual orientation. Beliefs such as these could be detrimental to lesbian and gay adoptive applicants if social workers or adoption agency workers are unwilling to see the discrimination or prejudice that may be directed toward same-sex couples during adoption procedures.

While studies have established the presence of old-fashioned and modern homonegative attitudes toward gay and lesbian adoptive couples (e.g., Crawford & Solliday, 1996; Ryan et al., 2007; Sullivan & Harrington, 2009), missing from these attitudinal studies are empirical

investigations into the possible explanations as to why individuals hold these attitudes. At present, a subjective notion is that people believe that children should have both male and female role models (Hicks, 2008). A number of theories relating to this belief, including social role theory and socialisation theory, have been proposed to explain negative attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples. The following section discusses these theories and empirical studies examining individuals' perceived importance of gender role models in the context of adoption by same-sex couples.

Research on the Perceived Importance of Gender Role Models

Social role theory (Eagly, 1987) involves the notion that individuals behave according to a set of socially determined rules based on their social role. Among these rules are society's expectations for the 'appropriate' gender role behaviours and dispositions for men and women (Eagly, 1987). Eagly (1987) proposes that society's understanding of gender roles are rooted in the division of labour between men and women. Based on the different tasks men and women have been historically assigned, expectations of men's and women's roles have diverged. These expectations are what we now refer to as the sexual stereotypes of the two sexes. Sexual stereotypes are transmitted to children through socialisation processes at a young age (Eagly, 1987, 1997). Children are encouraged to develop certain traits in order to conform to their respective gender role expectations. For example, boys are expected to develop traits such as assertiveness and independence that serve to establish agency and girls are expected to develop traits such as friendliness and expressiveness that serve to establish communalism. Children internalise their expected gender role dispositions and behaviours and will continue to transfer them to subsequent generations (Eagly, 1987, 1997).

One implication of social role theory is that individuals may be judged differently depending on their social roles or positions in society (Fuegen, Biernet, Haines, & Deaux, 2004). For example, Fuegen et al. (2004) had undergraduate students evaluate vignettes depicting job applicants that differed on the basis of sex (i.e., male or female), marital status (i.e., single or married), and parental status (i.e., parent or non-parent). Results indicated that parents were rated as less agentic (i.e., proactive, self-regulating) than other applicants, with mothers being evaluated as less agentic compared to fathers. These findings demonstrated that individuals rate others according to their social roles (i.e., parents are viewed as more maternal and were, subsequently, evaluated as possessing less agency). Heilman and Okimito (2008) assert, based on their work with mothers in the workplace, that some traits of certain social groups may amplify stereotypes about said group. For example, women who are mothers are viewed as exhibiting more traits associated with femininity than women who are non-mothers (Heilman & Okimito, 2008).

Social role theory also purports that men and women are appraised more negatively when they violate gender role stereotypes (e.g., Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004; Rudman, 1998; Wiley & Eskilson, 1985). Some researchers examining negative attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples have suggested that beliefs about the gender role behaviour of gay and lesbian persons may, in part, explain these negative attitudes. For example, researchers have cited existing concerns among opponents of adoption by same-sex couples that gay and lesbian parents will not provide their children with adequate gender role models, resulting in their children failing to develop their own gender identity and possibly becoming homosexual themselves (Clarke & Kitzinger, 2005; Hicks, 2008; Ryan et al., 2007). Based on the belief that homosexuality contravenes ‘proper’ roles for men and women, gay parenting represents a

contradiction to the traditional family of a father, a mother, and their biological children (Rye & Meaney, 2010). The presence of both a strong male and female role model has often been used by opponents to argue against adoption by gay and lesbian couples and as a reason to prevent the approval of applications by same-sex prospective adoptive parents (Clarke & Kitzinger, 2005; Hicks, 2000, 2008; Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999).

Another prominent theory explaining the perceived importance of gender role models is socialisation theory (Mischel, 1966; Parsons & Bales, 1956). Socialisation theory consists of a number of assumptions; for example, the assumption that there are two natural and separate sexes (i.e., male and female) and the roles for each sex are different. The roles are perceived as complementing one another. Proponents of socialisation theory argue that one function of the family is to instil in children the correct behaviours associated with their sex. Hicks (2008) speculates that these beliefs may contribute to adoption agency workers' tendency to place older children, but not infants, with same-sex parents; older children are thought to have already learned their 'proper' gender roles. Hicks (2008) has identified a number of weaknesses pertaining to socialisation theory. A critical flaw resides in the theory's inability to account for individuals who defy traditional gender roles. While their upbringing may have been similar, individuals differ in the extent to which they conform to stereotypical gender roles. Further, socialisation theory does not allow for other forms of relationships, which do not conform to the heteronormative version of the family, such as those with single parents or extended families. Despite these flaws, Hicks (2008) hypothesised that some individuals involved in the adoption process utilise the tenets of socialisation theory to govern their decision-making.

To support his predictions, Hicks (2008) examined 30 British social workers' assessments of lesbian women and gay men who applied to adopt or foster children. Social

workers in Hicks' (2008) study viewed the heterosexual nuclear family as ideal and non-heterosexual families as abnormal. Gay and lesbian parents were perceived as possessing a kind of 'difference' and, by being different, they would not be able to provide their children with a 'normal' upbringing. Using gender attribution, the social workers in this study were forming ideas about the roles (i.e., the appropriate behaviour) that a man and a woman could exhibit. In accordance with socialisation theory, the participants often drew on the roles of men and women to argue against gay and lesbian parents, as they considered that a mother would not be able to adequately fill the role of a father and vice versa. To some social workers, a mother and a father provide basic needs for children and without both figures a child would be deprived. A mother and a father were considered as more than simply two parents, as a lesbian or gay couple were, but represented the basis of a 'complete' family. The roles of men and women were viewed as rigid and each sex had a 'natural' role; 'mothering' was deemed a duty that only women could fulfil and only a man could 'father.' For these social workers, the production of 'gender' was so intrinsically linked to being a man or a woman that they were unable to regard parents of the same sex as being able to provide adequate gender roles for children. Hicks (2008) asserts that, while social workers advocate that the rights of children are paramount, they use this stance to negatively portray gay and lesbian parents and to reject their applications for adoptions as having same-sex parents is not considered to be in the best interests of a child. According to Clarke (2001), this argument further creates the belief that gay and lesbian individuals are selfish and are not considering the child's best interests.

Anderssen and Hellesund (2009) found many of the same results in their content analysis of newspaper coverage of the debate on adoption by same-sex couples in Norway. The researchers found that the debate followed two main patterns. The first trend was to use the

nuclear family as the only point of reference. In all the newspapers examined, gay and lesbian couples were only compared against the ideal heterosexual relationship (i.e., a man and a woman in a long-lasting monogamous relationship) and there was no mention of other forms of relationships (e.g., single-parents, common-law relationships). The anti-adoption side claimed that children need both gender role models and same-sex couples could not fulfil these requirements. Further, the 'ideal' nuclear family required that parents be biologically linked to their children and these bonds took precedence over all others. In line with this argument, research has found that social workers often believe that adoption is a second choice and only resorted to after conception has failed (Hicks, 2008).

The second pattern found by Anderssen and Hellesund (2009) in their analysis of the debate on adoption by same-sex couples was a focus on innate qualities. Terms such as 'man,' 'woman,' and 'gender' were perceived as inherent and unambiguous categories rather than as being culturally constructed classifications. Women and men were characterised as being fundamentally different and each had separate and required roles within the family structure. Underlying the anti-adoption side of the debate was a clear dichotomy between men and women and between heterosexuality and homosexuality, with women and homosexuals being relegated to the bottom of the gender and sexuality hierarchies. For example, gay and lesbian individuals were often portrayed as being the 'other' in the reviewed texts, while heterosexual parents were considered 'normal.' In terms of the gender hierarchy, the focus on the nuclear family conveyed a resurgence of the traditional domestic view of women, and while motherhood is often exalted (McBride-Chang, Jacklin, & Reynolds, 1992), the relegation of women to the home places them in a socially inferior position to men. Neither side of the adoption debate challenged these binary conceptualisations, but rather reinforced them by categorising people as either heterosexual or

homosexual or as exhibiting either male or female roles depending on their sex, and described these categories as being fixed and unchanging. Gullestad (2002) explains that there exists a tendency to create hierarchies in relation to what is considered the norm, while placing those who are different at the bottom of the hierarchy. Anderssen and Hellesund (2009) suggest that adoption by same-sex couples may be controversial because people perceive gay and lesbian couples with families as threatening because they are eliminating differences that separate them from the heterosexual majority.

While many studies have found that mothers are viewed by most social workers as important figures for children (e.g., Gianino, 2008; Mallon, 2000), some research has focussed specifically on understanding the perceived value of fathers or other male role models (Clarke & Kitzinger, 2005; Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999). Silverstein and Auerbach (1999) have critiqued the essentialist perspective stating that boys need a father figure to properly establish their male gender role. The authors argue that neither a mother nor a father is essential to a child's development, but rather the need for the presence of at least one responsible adult, either male or female, is predictive of a child's positive adjustment. However, other researchers claim that the absence of fathers leads to a number of social problems (Blankenhorn, 1995). Regardless of one's position, McLoyd (1998) has noted that it is difficult to separate the effects of an absent father from the effects of a low income, which is more prevalent among single-mother households. Silverstein and Auerbach (1999) also suggest that problems may arise given that the larger cultural context may inhibit single mothers from establishing an authoritative parenting role with their male children as fathers normally would. Silverstein and Auerbach's (1999) critique lends support to the notion that a child does not necessarily need parents of both sexes to be well adjusted.

Despite Silverstein and Auerbach's (1999) argument, Clarke and Kitzinger (2005) found that lesbian women defended the presence of male role models in the lives of their children. The researchers analysed 27 television talk shows and 11 television documentaries about gay and lesbian families. The women in these television programmes often listed the men in their extended families (i.e., father, uncle, brother) or close male friends who would serve as role models for their children. While these women challenged the stereotype of lesbians as 'man-haters,' by citing the males in their lives they conceded that the presence of male role models was important for their children. Even though lesbian women capitulated to the pressure to ensure the presence of male role models, opponents of lesbian parenting held a different definition of male role models than did the lesbian parents. The opponents believed that a father constituted a male role model and other family members or friends were insufficient.

Based on the finding that opponents of adoption by same-sex couples believe that both mothers and fathers are necessary for children's development (Anderssen & Hellesund, 2009; Hicks, 2008), Spivey (2006) conducted a study using mail-out surveys to investigate whether individuals who held negative attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples also held more traditional sex-role beliefs. Spivey (2006) sent surveys to 57 adoption workers and 60 social work students and received 65 (31 adoption workers and 34 students) completed surveys. Findings indicate that sex-role beliefs were related to attitudes toward same-sex couples, such that those who held less egalitarian sex-role beliefs held less favourable attitudes toward adoptions by same-sex couples. A notable limitation to this study was that, like other studies measuring attitudes of adoption agency workers and social work students, the sample was self-selected and the attitudes of those who opted to participate may be different from those who

chose not to be involved in the research. In this case, several adoption agencies and a couple of universities were unable, or declined, to participate.

As well, Brescoll and Ulhmann (2005) conducted a study investigating gender role stereotypes by presenting a community sample of park attendees in a New England state with vignettes describing either a traditional parent (i.e., stay-at-home mothers or employed fathers) or a non-traditional parent (i.e., stay-at-home fathers or employed mothers) and the parent's reasoning for choosing to stay at home or work. The participants then had to respond to seven items relating to their evaluations of the target and their beliefs about others' opinions of the target. The findings indicated that non-traditional parents were liked significantly less than traditional parents. Contrasts revealed that non-traditional mothers were disliked less when they chose to work because of financial need than when they chose to work for personal fulfilment. This study has implications for gay and lesbian families as the researchers suggest that individuals may have negative attitudes toward non-traditional families because they violate their socially prescribed gender roles. Given that Herek (2002) has found that homosexual persons are often perceived as violating traditional gender roles, additional research similar to Brescoll and Ulhmann's (2005) study should be conducted examining attitudes toward families headed by gay or lesbian couples.

Purpose of the Present Study

The purpose of the present study is to experimentally investigate attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples while considering the impact of parental gender roles on these attitudes. To accomplish these objectives, this study: (1) assessed attitudes toward gay, lesbian, and heterosexual adopting couples in order to compare across a number of family structures (i.e., families headed by heterosexual parents, gay parents, or lesbian parents); (2) examined if

attitudes change depending on the sex of the child to be adopted; (3) assessed whether atypical gender role behaviour affects attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples; and (4) investigated predictors of attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples.

Incremental advances. To date, no study has examined how attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples differ depending on the couple's gender role behaviour. Therefore, this study explores whether the value placed on gender role models inhibits support of gay and lesbian adoption. Studies considering the importance placed on gender role models have included interviews with social workers (Hicks, 2008), and content analyses of television shows (Clarke & Kitzinger, 2005) and newspapers (Anderssen & Hellesund, 2009). The findings revealed that most people consider gender role models as very important in the development of children and perceive mothers and fathers as necessary for modelling different behaviour for their children. While considering gender role behaviour, this study also examined attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples using an experimental design. This approach is a departure from the interview and content analysis studies that have been conducted in the past (e.g., Anderssen & Hellesund, 2009; Clarke & Kitzinger, 2005; Sullivan & Harrington, 2009).

Although there exists a handful of Canadian studies (Ross et al., 2008; Ross, Epstein, Anderson, & Eady, 2009; Rye & Meaney, 2010; Sullivan & Harrington, 2009) examining attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples and same-sex couples' experiences of prejudice and discrimination during the adoption process, those studies have taken place almost exclusively within Ontario and British Columbia. An understanding of the prejudice and discrimination facing same-sex adoptive couples within other areas of Canada is needed. Ross et al. (2009) found that discrimination against same-sex adoptive couples appears to be more negative in rural areas than in urban centres. Due to varying levels of rural versus urban

populations in the Canadian provinces (Statistics Canada, 2008), attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples in certain provinces may differ from one another. Further, the Canadian research has been based primarily on interview studies with social workers (Sullivan & Harrington, 2009) or gay and lesbian adoptive parents (Ross et al., 2008; Ross et al., 2009). Rye and Meaney's (2010) study on undergraduate students' attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples is the only Canadian experimental study investigating these attitudes. However, while the researchers identified a number of predictors associated with attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples (i.e., self-defense, sexism, and aetiological beliefs about homosexuality), the effect of gender roles was not considered. Further, their study did not consider how the adoptive child's sex would affect vignette ratings.

Hypotheses. Based on a review of the literature and the critical extensions noted above, the following hypotheses were formulated:

H1: Vignettes describing heterosexual couples will be rated more favourably than the vignettes describing gay and lesbian couples. Objections toward gay and lesbian couples as adoptive parents may be based on homonegative beliefs. Negative stereotypes related to gay and lesbian couples' ability and suitability to parent may lead participants to rate these couples less favourably than heterosexual couples. Additionally, socialisation theory suggests that an important responsibility of the family is to ingrain in children the gender role behaviours that are associated with their sex. This theory glorifies families with both a mother and a father that can then model 'proper' gender roles for their children. Based on these beliefs, gay- and lesbian-headed families would be seen as less than ideal. In support of this hypothesis, two studies assessing undergraduate students' attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples (Crawford & Solliday, 1996; Rye & Meaney, 2010) and one examining those of the larger public (Ryan et al.,

2007) found that attitudes toward gay and lesbian couples were significantly more negative than attitudes toward heterosexual couples.

H2: a) Lesbian couples will be rated more favourably when participants are considering awarding them a female child to adopt than when participants are considering awarding them a male child. This hypothesis is supported by Crawford et al. (1999) who found, in their study of psychologists' attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples, that concerns exist as to the ability of lesbian women to raise male children. Further, Hicks (2008) argues that individuals' reliance on socialisation theory results in their belief that women are unsuited to raise male children.

b) Gay couples will be rated less favourably when participants consider placements with male children and more favourably when considering their adoption of female children. This hypothesis is supported by the literature that suggests that some people hold the belief that gay men have a proclivity to abuse male children (DeCrescenzo, 1984; Kite & Deaux, 1987; Page & Yee, 1985; Testa et al., 1987).

c) No significant difference is expected to emerge based on the child's sex for ratings of heterosexual couples.

H3: Among each sexual orientation (i.e., heterosexual, lesbian, and gay), vignettes describing couples who are comprised of one partner who displays masculine characteristics and one who displays feminine characteristics are expected to be rated more favourably than the other couples types. Researchers (Clarke & Kitzinger, 2005; Hicks, 2008) indicate that both gender role models are perceived as being necessary for the development of children's gender identity. Additionally, it is expected that applicants who abide by their gender role stereotypes will be rated more favourably than those who do not (e.g., a lesbian couple whose career choices

and leisure activities are deemed feminine will be rated more favourably than a lesbian couple whose career choices and leisure activities are deemed masculine). Brescoll and Ulhmann (2005) found that individuals rate parents who violate stereotypical gender norms (i.e., stay-at-home fathers and working mothers) less favourably than those who abide by their socially assigned roles. Furthermore, social role theory suggests that men and women may be regarded more negatively when they violate their expected gender-linked roles.

H4: Participants who evidence greater levels of old-fashioned and modern homonegativity, as measured by the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988) and the Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS; Morrison & Morrison, 2002), respectively, will rate gay and lesbian couples significantly less favourably than participants with lower scores on the ATLG and the MHS.

H5: Participants who report higher levels of benevolent and hostile sexism, as measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996), are expected to rate gay and lesbian couples significantly less favourably than participants who demonstrate lower levels of benevolent and hostile sexism.

H6: Participants who have more traditional beliefs about gender roles, as measured by the Social Roles Questionnaire (SRQ; Baber & Tucker, 2006), will rate same-sex couples significantly less favourably than participants who hold more egalitarian gender role beliefs.

H7: Participants who express the belief that sexual orientation is a result of social learning or choice, based on their scores on the Etiology Beliefs Scale (EBS; Rye & Meaney, 2010), will rate gay and lesbian couples significantly less favourably than participants who believe that sexual orientation is a result of biological factors.

H8: Male participants are expected to have significantly more negative ratings for same-sex couples than female participants. Past research on attitudes toward adoption by gay and lesbian couples have shown that male participants consistently have more negative attitudes than female respondents (Brodzinsky et al., 2002; Choi et al., 2006; Ryan et al., 2007).

H9: Participants who are more religiously inclined are expected to rate gay and lesbian couples significantly less favourably than participants who are less religiously inclined.

Hypotheses four through nine are supported by previous studies (Rye & Meaney, 2010; Davies, 2004; Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992; Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Spivey, 2006) that have demonstrated that these groups hold more negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian individuals.

Chapter Two – Phase I

Purpose

Phase I of the study was conducted to determine four career choices and four leisure activities that are strongly associated with masculinity and femininity. These items were then included in the vignettes used in Phase II to portray partners displaying either masculine or feminine gender role characteristics. Given that researchers now recognise that two different types of attitudes exist (i.e., explicit and implicit; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995), both implicit and explicit association measures were utilised. Explicit attitudes, which are consciously known to the individual, "reflect values, beliefs, and deliberate assessments of the world" (Nosek & Banaji, 2009, p. 84). These can be measured through self-report because individuals are aware of their own explicit attitudes. Implicit attitudes are defined as traces of past experiences that mediate "feeling, thought, or action toward a social object" (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995, p. 8). Unlike explicit attitudes, individuals are not consciously aware of their implicit attitudes and so they cannot be measured using conventional means. The implicit association test (IAT) was designed to measure individuals' automatic, or implicit, associations between concepts (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). An IAT requires that participants rapidly categorise items into given classifications. Greenwald et al. (1998) posit that when highly associated categorisations (e.g., flower and pleasant) share the same response key on the computer keyboard, performance will be faster than when less associated pairings (e.g., insect and pleasant) share the same response key.

Phase I used both an IAT and an explicit association measure to determine the eight items for Phase II. This ensured that the career choices and leisure activities that are described in the vignettes were accurately reflecting those that individuals consider to be related to masculinity or

femininity at both the explicit and implicit level. It is beneficial to use an implicit measure, as well as an explicit measure, in case participants respond to the explicit measure in a socially desirably fashion. Greenwald et al. (1998) argue that the IAT may be resistant to these self-presentational forces that can obscure responses to socially undesirable associations. Participants may be hesitant to explicitly classify certain career choices or leisure activities as being related to masculinity or femininity out of fear of seeming sexist. Additionally, participants may not be aware of their implicit, or unconscious, associations and, therefore, would be unable to report them through an explicit measure.

Participants

Thirty introductory psychology students (22 females and 8 males) were recruited from the University of Saskatchewan psychology participant pool to participate in Phase I. Students received bonus course credit for their participation.

Measures

Implicit Association Test (IAT). The IAT was used as a measure of implicit associations between certain activities or careers thought to be gender-linked. Two different implicit association tests were needed, one that measured the association between career types and gender, and one that measured the association between leisure activities and gender. In each IAT, participants completed trials in which they were presented with target categories and words to categorise. Participants were provided with the target categories and the words that belonged to each category before the IAT began. For the career type IAT, participants were presented with the following target categories: male, female, service jobs, and caring jobs. They also were provided the words that were associated with each category: male (i.e., Craig, Karl, Leonard, and Peter); female (i.e., Annie, Brenda, Natalie, and Sarah); service jobs (i.e., electrician, fire-fighter,

police officer, soldier); and caring jobs (i.e., nanny, nurse, teacher, and social worker). For leisure activities, participants were presented the target categories of male, female, physical activities, and arts activities. They also were provided with the words that were to be classified in each category: male (i.e., Craig, Karl, Leonard, and Peter); female (i.e., Annie, Brenda, Natalie, and Sarah); physical activities (i.e., fishing, hockey, kickboxing, snowmobiling); and arts activities (i.e., ballet, piano, sewing, figure skating).

If participants press the correct response key faster when male and service jobs (or physical activities) are paired together and female and caring jobs (or art activities) are paired together, it suggests that these participants associate these careers and leisure activities with masculinity and femininity, respectively. On the other hand, if participants respond faster when female and service jobs (or physical activities) are paired together and male and caring jobs (or art activities) are paired, it reflects the notion that participants associate masculinity and femininity with atypical masculine and feminine careers and leisure activities. Participants also may evidence no difference in response time depending on the position of the four categories, which indicates that they have no associative preference for gender and career types or gender and leisure activities.

Phase I Vignettes. Four vignettes were created for Phase I of the study. Each vignette included a short description of an individual who is in the process of adopting a child. The vignettes included a brief overview of the individual's career, level of education, age, housing situation, medical history, and preferred leisure activity. The information in the vignettes (e.g., information about family, age, education) was randomised for different trials to ensure that ratings were not dependent on these variables. The careers choices (i.e., electrician, fire-fighter, police officer, soldier, nanny, nurse, teacher, social worker) and preferred leisure activities (i.e.,

fishing, hockey, kickboxing, snowmobiling, ballet, piano, sewing, figure skating) used in each vignette were randomly selected from the possibilities that were tested in the IAT. The Phase I vignettes served to assess explicitly if participants associate an individual's career choice and leisure activity with either masculinity or femininity. There were two questions about the degree of masculinity and femininity associated with the leisure activity and career choice using a scale from one to ten. Higher scores reflect a greater endorsement of traditional views of masculine and feminine careers and leisure activities. See Appendix A for a copy of the Phase I vignettes.

Procedure

This study was conducted on the University of Saskatchewan campus in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Students signed up to participate via the University of Saskatchewan psychology participant pool website and received course credit for their participation. Upon their arrival, participants were given an informed consent sheet (see Appendix B) to read and sign. The consent form indicated that the purpose of the study was to assess adoption vignettes for an upcoming study, that participation was voluntary, and their responses would remain anonymous and confidential.

Participants were then asked to complete the computerised IAT and respond to questions in relation to the vignettes. Presentation of the computerised IAT and the vignettes were counterbalanced. Two different IATs were presented to participants, one measuring the association between career types and gender, and the other between leisure activities and gender. For the career type IAT, participants were presented with the following four categories: 1) male names, 2) female names, 3) service jobs, and 4) caring jobs and were provided with the four words that fall within each category. For leisure activities, participants were provided with the words that were to be classified in the following four categories: 1) male names, 2) female

names, 3) physical activities, and 4) arts activities. Using a standard QWERTY keyboard, participants were instructed to keep their fingers on the "d" and "k" keys and that the "d" key denoted items falling in the category that appeared on the left side of the screen and the "k" key corresponded to items that belonged in the category on the right side. After the instructions, participants began the computerised task. They were given 16 practice trials with the male and female names and 16 practice trials with the service and caring jobs (or physical and art activities, depending on IAT version). For example, on the screen participants saw the word "female" in the top leftmost corner and "male" in the top rightmost corner and the item to be categorised (e.g., Annie) was presented in the centre of the screen. If participants paired the word into the incorrect category (e.g., Annie with male), a red "X" appeared in the centre of the screen. After the practice trials, participants then saw "Female or Caring" (or "Female or Arts") on one side of the screen and "Male or Service" (or "Male or Physical) on the other side. Items belonging in the categories (e.g., Brenda, electrician) were again presented in the middle of the screen. Participants were given 16 practice trials with this format and then 40 experimental trials. For the next trial, "male" and "female" switched places, with "male" appearing in the upper left corner and "female" appearing in the upper right corner. Participants completed 16 practice trials with just the categories of male and female to familiarise themselves with the new positioning. Participants then completed 16 practice trials and 40 experimental trials with "Male or Caring" in one corner and "Female or Service" in the other corner. The order of positioning of the male and female words was randomised across participants. Figure 1 provides a visual representation of what participants saw during the IAT. In this example, participants would press the "d" response key because they were instructed that "electrician" falls within the service jobs category. If participants make the pairing provided in this example more quickly than when male and female

have switched positions, it would suggest that participants associate “electrician” with “male” or masculinity.

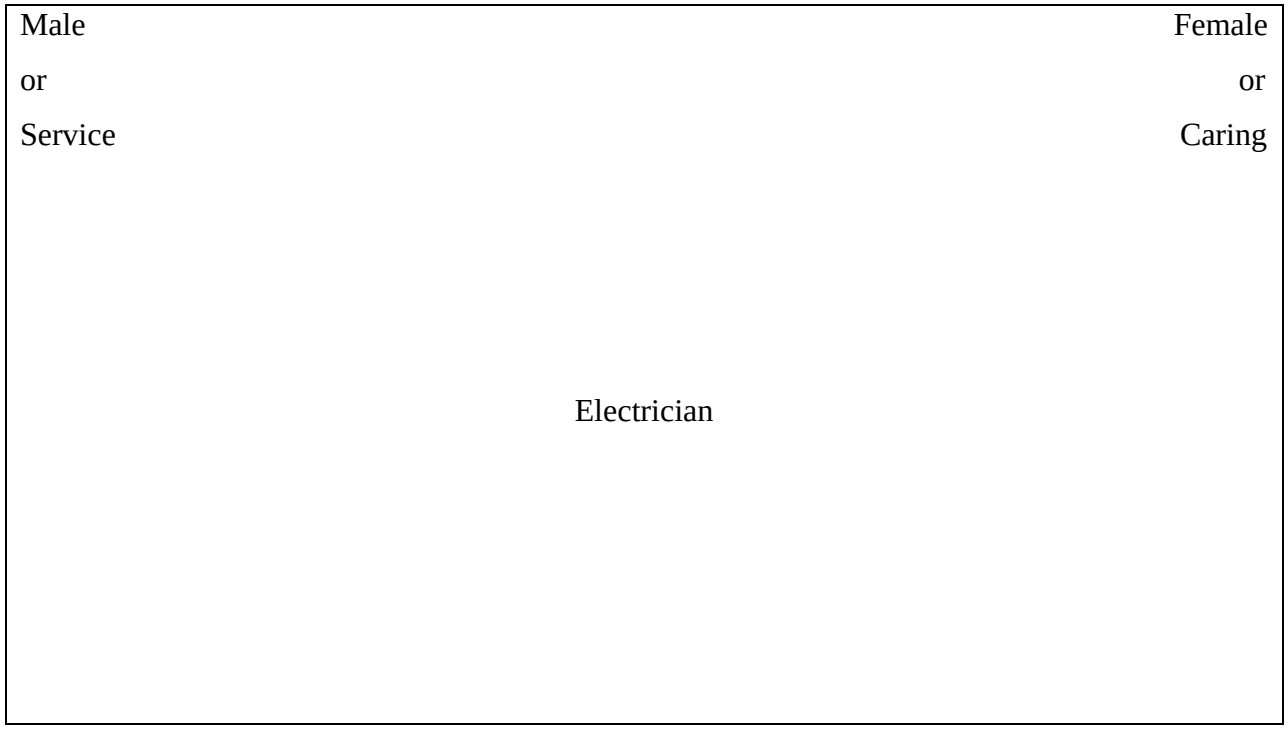

Figure 1. Computerised Implicit Association Task.

Participants also were asked to read four Phase I vignettes and respond to two questions after each vignette related to the character’s career choice and preferred leisure activity. Participants were then debriefed (see Appendix C) and any questions they had about the tasks they completed were answered.

Results

The IAT data were analysed using Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji’s (2003) improved scoring algorithm. This alternative scoring procedure incorporates participants’ practice trials, includes a time penalty for incorrect responses, and uses a metric that is based on each participant’s latency variability. Higher positive scores reflect a greater association between the congruently paired items, while higher negative scores reflect a stronger association between the incongruently paired items. This method of analysis has been shown to outperform the

conventional procedure (Greenwald et al., 2003). An examination of the IAT data revealed that all participants obtained high positive scores on the career choice IAT and the improved scoring algorithm revealed that participants exhibited an association between service jobs and masculinity and caring jobs and femininity, $D = .95$. Additionally, all but one participant scored positively on the leisure activities IAT and the analysis revealed that an association between physical activities and masculinity and arts activities and femininity existed for participants, $D = 85$.

In addition to the analysis of the IAT, the explicit vignette ratings were averaged to determine if participants rated the leisure activities and career choices used in the IAT as being masculine or feminine. Higher scores on the explicit measure reflect a greater endorsement of traditional views of masculine and feminine careers and leisure activities. Possible scores range from one to ten. The results revealed that soldier and fire-fighter were rated as most associated with masculinity with mean scores of 8.60 ($SD = 1.06$) and 7.80 ($SD = 1.21$), respectively. Nanny and nurse were rated as most associated with femininity with mean scores of 8.13 ($SD = 1.13$) and 6.60 ($SD = 1.55$), respectively. In terms of leisure activities, hockey and fishing were deemed most masculine with mean ratings of 7.60 ($SD = 1.84$) and 7.40 ($SD = 1.18$), respectively. Sewing and ballet were rated as most feminine with mean scores of 8.53 ($SD = 1.13$) and 8.20 ($SD = 1.57$), respectively. Therefore, for Phase II of the study, fire-fighter and soldier were used to represent masculine careers and nanny and nurse to reflect feminine careers. Fishing and hockey denoted masculine leisure activities and sewing and ballet represented feminine leisure activities.

Chapter Three – Phase II Method

Participants

Five hundred and forty-one students were recruited from the University of Saskatchewan psychology participant pool and the University of Saskatchewan's Personalised Access to Web Services (PAWS) Campus Portal. All surveys were completed online. First-year psychology students who were recruited from the participant pool received bonus course credit for their participation and students who were recruited from the PAWS Campus Portal were placed in a lottery to win one of three 50 dollar prizes.

Four participants were removed from further analysis due to an incompletion rate greater than 5% on non-demographic measures (at least six questions were omitted). Acuña and Rodriguez (2004) argue that when the sample size is sufficiently large and the number of deleted cases is small, case deletion is equivalent to other methods of handling missing data. Additionally, 31 participants who identified as non-heterosexual were removed. Of the remaining 506 participants, 363 were female, 133 were male, and 10 chose not to provide a gender. The sample was predominantly Caucasian (79%) and had a mean age of 21.61 (*SD* = 5.20). Participants were, on average, somewhat liberal in their political orientation. In terms of level of religiosity and religious attendance, participants indicated that they were, on average, somewhat religious and attended religious services on special occasions. A more detailed outline of the sample's demographics is provided in Table 1.

Measures

Phase II Vignettes. Participants were given one of ten possible vignettes describing a prospective adoptive couple. Each vignette included a short description of the couple, including a brief overview of their careers, level of education, age, length of relationship, housing,

relationship to parents, medical history, and preferred leisure activities. Although the descriptions were identical in terms of most information (e.g., names, ages, housing, medical background), the couple's career choices and leisure activities differed across vignettes. Of the ten vignettes, three described a lesbian couple, three described a gay couple, and four described a heterosexual couple. For each of the different sexual orientations there was a vignette in which both members of the couple exhibited stereotypical masculine career choices and leisure activities; a vignette in which both members exhibited stereotypical feminine career choices and leisure activities; and a vignette where one member exhibited a stereotypical masculine career choice and leisure activities and the other had a stereotypical feminine career choice and leisure activities. Additionally, a fourth heterosexual vignette described one member of the couple as exhibiting masculine characteristics and the other feminine; however, with the sex reversed from the other possible combination. See Appendix D for a copy of the adoption vignettes.

Adoption Vignette Scale (AVS). The AVS is a modified version of the scale used by Rye and Meaney (2010) to assess individuals' attitudes toward adoption. The original scale contained 12 items; however, for the purposes of this study, the item "I would award custody to the couple" was replaced with the items "The couple should be awarded custody of a male child" and "The couple should be awarded custody of a female child." Participants responded to the scale using a five-point Likert scale *(1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree)*. Possible scores range from 13 to 65. A higher score reflects participants' opinion that a child should be placed with the couple, while a lower score represents their belief that a child should not be placed with the couple. The scale demonstrated good scale score reliability (α = .84; 95% CI = .81-.86), which is consistent with Rye and Meaney's (2010) findings for the AVS. See Appendix E for a copy of the AVS.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). The ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) is a measure of sexism encompassing hostile and benevolent sexism subscales. Hostile sexism refers to animosity toward women whereas benevolent sexism refers to chivalrous attitudes toward women that serve to position them as inferior to men. The inventory contains 11 belief statements relating to hostile sexism (e.g., "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.") and 11 statements pertaining to benevolent sexism (e.g., "Women should be cherished and protected by men."). Participants responded using a five-point Likert scale *(1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree)*. Possible total scores range from 22 to 110 and the subscale scores can range from 11 to 55. Higher sub-scores indicate greater endorsement of the respective sexist beliefs. Rye and Meaney (2010) found that greater endorsement of hostile and benevolent sexism was associated with negative attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples. Inclusion of this scale provided information as to whether benevolent and hostile sexism are associated with perceived importance of gender role models in the context of adoption by same-sex couples. The 11-item hostile and benevolent sexism subscales exhibited good scale score reliability (i.e., α = .84; 95% CI = .82-.86 and .80; 95% CI = .77-.82, respectively). The total ASI also evidenced good scale score reliability (α = .87; 95% CI: .85-.89), which mirrors past alpha coefficients reported by Glick and Fiske (1996, 2001). The ASI also has been deemed valid by Glick and Fiske (1996, 2001). See Appendix F for a copy of the ASI.

Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG). The ATLG (Herek, 1988) measures blatantly negative attitudes toward lesbian women and gay men. The ATLG consists of two subscales, containing 10-items each, one measuring attitudes toward lesbian women (e.g., "Female homosexuality is a sin") and one measuring attitudes toward gay men (e.g., "I think male homosexuals are disgusting"). The ATLG uses a five-point Likert scale *(1 = strongly*

disagree; 5 = strongly agree), with possible subscale scores ranging from 10 to 50. Higher scores indicate more overtly negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women. The ATLG has been found to have good psychometric properties (Herek, 1988; 1994). The total scale possessed high scale score reliability (α = .95; 95% CI = .95-.96), while the lesbian subscale had an alpha coefficient of .90 (95% CI = .89-.91) and .92 (95% CI = .91-.93) for the gay men subscale. See Appendix G for a copy of the ATLG.

Etiology Beliefs Scale (EBS). The EBS is an adaptation of the scale used by Rye and Meaney (2010) to measure beliefs about the aetiology of sexual orientation. The EBS consists of six items (e.g., "A person who is raised by a gay person is more likely to be gay themselves") and was found to have good scale score reliability (Rye & Meaney, 2010). Participants responded using a five-point Likert scale *(1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree)*. Possible scores range from 6 to 30 with higher scores reflecting a belief that sexual orientation is a result of social learning or personal choice (as opposed to biological factors). The EBS exhibited good scale score reliability (α = .83; 95% CI = .80-.85). See Appendix H for a copy of the EBS.

Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS). The MHS (Morrison & Morrison, 2002) is a 12-item scale that measures modern negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women (e.g., "Many lesbians [gay men] use their sexual orientation so they can obtain special privileges"). Two parallel versions exist, with one measuring attitudes toward gay men (MHS-G) and the other measuring attitudes toward lesbian women (MHS-L). A five-point Likert scale is used *(1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree)* and total scores range from 12 to 60. Higher scores represent greater endorsement of modern homonegative attitudes. Alpha coefficients were consistent with past research on the MHS (Morrison, Kenny, & Harrington, 2005; Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Morrison, Morrison, & Franklin, 2009), with an alpha coefficient of .90 (95%

CI = .89-.92) for the MHS-G and .91 (95% CI = .90-.92) for the MHS-L. The MHS also has been found to be a valid measure of modern homonegative attitudes (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). See Appendix I for a copy of the MHS.

Social Desirability Scale-17 (SDS-17). The SDS-17 (Stöber, 2001) consists of 16 items that measure the extent to which participants respond in a socially desirable fashion (e.g., "I never hesitate to help someone in case of emergency"). The scale uses a true/false *(0 = false; 1 = true)* response format, with total scores ranging from 0 to 16. Higher scores are indicative of a greater tendency to respond in socially desirable ways. Stöber (2001) has demonstrated that the SDS-17 is both reliable and valid. In the present study, the SDS-17 possessed acceptable scale score reliability (α = .73; 95% CI = .69-.76). See Appendix J for a copy of the SDS-17.

Social Roles Questionnaire (SRQ). The SRQ (Baber & Tucker, 2006) is a 13-item questionnaire measuring gender role attitudes. The questionnaire consists of two subscales measuring gender transcendence (e.g., "Tasks around the house should be assigned by sex" [reverse scored]) and beliefs about whether certain roles are associated with a specific sex (e.g., "Only some types of work are appropriate for both men and women"). Baber and Tucker (2006) found the SRQ to be reliable and valid among undergraduate students. The original SRQ uses an evaluation thermometer, with respondents circling the extent to which they agree with an item based on increments of 10%. The poles are anchored with 0 being denoted as strongly disagree and 100% as strongly agree. However, for the purpose of this study and to stay consistent with other measures used in this study, a five-point Likert scale was employed *(1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree)*. Possible scores range from 13 to 65, with higher scores reflecting more traditional beliefs about gender roles. The five-item Gender Transcendence and the eight-item Gender-linked subscales demonstrated acceptable scale score reliabilities: α = .67 (95% CI = .62-

.71) and α = .79 (95% CI = .77-.82), respectively. The total SRQ exhibited good scale score reliability (α = .82; 95% CI = .80-.84). See Appendix K for a copy of the SRQ.

Demographics Questionnaire. A 12-item questionnaire was given to participants to gather information about their age, gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, income, marital status, parental status, political conservatism, religious affiliation, religious attendance, and number of gay/lesbian acquaintances. See Appendix L for a copy of this measure.

Procedure

Introductory psychology students who participated in the present study completed the survey online through the University of Saskatchewan's psychology participant pool website. Students who participated via the PAWS Campus Portal also completed the survey online through their system. Participants were first presented with the Cover Letter (see Appendix M) informing them about the purpose of the study and their rights as participants. Following the Cover Letter, participants were presented with one of the ten possible vignettes. Due to technological limitations, random assignment was not possible; however participants were assigned to read one of ten vignettes based on their birth date.[1] Participants then responded to the Adoption Vignette Scale followed by the other measures: Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996), the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988), the Etiology Beliefs Scale (EBS; Rye & Meaney, 2010), the Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS; Morrison & Morrison, 2002), the Social Desirability Scale (SDS-17; Stöber, 2001), the Social Roles Questionnaire (SRQ; Baber & Tucker, 2006) and a demographics questionnaire. Upon completion of the survey, the Debriefing Form (see Appendix N) was displayed, notifying them that they had completed the survey and thanking them for their participation. The contact

[1] The year was divided into 10 equal segments and participants chose the one that included their birth date and from this selection they were presented with a corresponding vignette.

information (i.e., e-mails and phone numbers) for the researchers also was provided on this page in case the participants had questions or concerns. The study consisted of 126 items and it is estimated that it took participants approximately half an hour to complete.

Chapter Four – Phase II Results

Data Preparation

Before the data were analysed, they were cleaned and the assumptions for the statistical procedures were checked. The data were examined for missing information and participants who had incompletion rates greater than 5% were removed from analysis (n = 4), as well as participants who identified as non-heterosexual (n = 31). A total of 506 participants remained. The remaining cases were examined for additional missing data. For those remaining participants who had missing data, individual mean imputation was used. Shrive, Stuart, Quan, and Ghali (2006) found that, when the dataset has less than 10% missing values, individual mean imputation is an appropriate method for dealing with missing data.

To check the assumptions for the analyses of variance (ANOVA) to be conducted to examine hypotheses one and three, the data were examined to ensure that the response variable was normally distributed and that the population variances were equal. To assess normality, Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shaprio-Wilk tests were conducted and found to be significant. Upon visual inspection, it was evident that the data were positively skewed. It has been argued that ANOVA is robust to violations of normality when the sample size is large and that transformations may even hinder the accuracy of the F statistic (Games, 1983, 1984; Games & Lucas, 1966). Therefore, the analyses were performed and reported without correcting for the positive skewness; however, analyses also were conducted on the transformed data but were only reported if the analyses yielded a different result in terms of significance.

To assess the assumption of homogeneity of variance (i.e., the variance within each of the groups is equal), Levene's test was examined during the analyses. For hypothesis one, if Levene's test was significant, Welch's test, which generates an F-ratio that can be used when the

homogeneity of variance assumption is violated (Field, 2009), was reported. For hypothesis three, if Levene's test was significant, the variance ratio was calculated and compared against the critical value of 1.67. Field (2009) argues that Levene's test is not always the most accurate method for determining if variances are unequal to the extent that it is problematic. He recommends that variance ratios be calculated. If the variance ratio is below the critical value, the analyses will be reported and interpreted.

For hypothesis two, given the high correlation between participants' responses to whether they would award a male or female child to the adoptive couple (r = .70), a paired-samples t-test was performed. The difference scores between these variables were examined for normality. A calculation of the z-scores for skewness and kurtosis revealed that the data had significant kurtosis. An inverse transformation, which is a technique for achieving normality, was performed on the data in order to achieve a z-score for kurtosis lower than 3.29, which, according to Field (2009), is the acceptable point when conducting analyses on large samples.

To test hypotheses four through nine, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted. The data for 10 participants who provided no response to the religiosity question were removed from analysis after conducting t-tests on variables of interest to verify that they did not differ from the rest of the sample. The analysis was conducted with the remaining 291 participants who had been presented with vignettes describing same-sex adoptive couples. The assumptions of multicollinearity (i.e., two or more predictor variables are highly correlated) and homoscedasticity (i.e., the variance is the same for all values of the predictor variable) were checked, as well as verification that the errors were independent. To assess whether multicollinearity existed, the intercorrelations between variables (see Table 2) were examined. Due to the high correlations between the ASI subscales with the total Ambivalent Sexism score,

only the subscales were used in the regression analysis. To avoid multicollinearity, the total scale scores for the ATLG and the averaged score for the MHS-G and MHS-L were used. Finally, because of lower subscale score reliabilities, only total SRQ scores were entered. After these changes were made, the variance inflation factors (VIF) and tolerance values were examined. VIF scores and tolerance values provide an estimate as to how much the regression coefficient increases because of collinearity (Field, 2009). All VIF scores were below 10, which is the value that is noted by Myers (1990) as suggesting multicollinearity. Further, all tolerance values exceeded .1, which is the point at which Field (2009) argues that multicollinearity is an issue. The assumption of homoscedasticity did not appear to be violated upon examination of the residual scatterplot. The data points were fairly symmetrically distributed around zero and scattered about the same amount around zero across the range of the predicted values. To ensure that the errors were independent, a Durbin-Watson test was conducted with a resulting value of 1.91, which satisfies Field's (2009) criteria that the value falls between 1 and 3.

Data Analyses

The results revealed that, on average, participants rated the adoptive couples described in the vignettes favourably with mean rating scores above the Adoption Vignette Scale's midpoint. Participants demonstrated relatively low levels of hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, ambivalent sexism, old-fashioned homonegative attitudes toward lesbian women, old-fashioned homonegative attitudes toward gay men, modern homonegative attitudes toward lesbian women, modern homonegative attitudes toward gay men, and traditional gender role attitudes. Mean scores on the subscales and total scales fell below their respective midpoints. Additionally, participants, on average, were more likely to believe that sexual orientation is a result of biological factors than of social learning or choice based on their relatively low scores on the

EBS, with the mean falling below the scale's midpoint. Finally participants scored, on average, below the midpoint on the SDS-17, suggesting that participants were not responding in a socially desirable fashion. Detailed descriptive information on the measured variables can be found in Table 3.

While no gender differences were found for any of the measured variables, significant differences emerged in scores on the AVS, the ASI and its subscales, the ATLG and its subscales, the EBS, the MHS-L, the MHS-G, and the SRQ depending on what system (i.e., PAWS Campus Portal, introductory psychology participant pool website) respondents utilised to participate in the present study. Participants who completed the present study via the introductory psychology participant pool had significantly lower ratings on the AVS and significantly higher ratings on the attitudinal measures when compared to the participants who responded via the PAWS Campus Portal. These findings suggest that participants who accessed the study via the introductory psychology participant pool had significantly more negative attitudes toward adoption by the couples described in the vignettes, were more likely to believe that sexual orientation is a result of social learning or choice, and had higher levels of hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, ambivalent sexism, old-fashioned and modern homonegative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women, and traditional gender role beliefs. Further, individuals who participated via the PAWS Campus Portal were significantly older (M = 24.62; SD = 6.61) than those who participated through the introductory psychology participant pool (M = 19.82; SD = 2.93). Given this age difference, ANCOVAs were conducted treating age as a covariate. Using a Bonferroni correction to account for multiple comparisons, the analyses revealed that the differences on the AVS and the attitudinal measures found based on the system used by participants remained statistically significant.

Differences between participants who completed the survey through the PAWS Campus Portal and those who participated via the introductory psychology participant pool website may be due to the order in which the materials were presented. While participants who completed the study through the introductory psychology participant pool were presented the measures in a random order (with the exception of the AVS which was presented first and the demographics questionnaire which was presented last), due to technological limitations, participants who responded via the PAWS Campus Portal were presented the material in a fixed order (i.e., AVS, ASI, ATLG, MHS-G, MHS-L, SRQ, SDS-17, demographics questionnaire). Given that these differences were present, the response system used by participants was used as a covariate for the remaining analyses to remove any effect that may exist based on how participants completed the study. When a violation of homogeneity of variance required that Welch's test be interpreted, this analysis was reported as opposed to the ANCOVA test including the system covariate; however, both tests were reported if they yielded different findings in terms of significance.

Intercorrelations between all measures are presented in Table 2. Inspection of the intercorrelations reveals that the AVS is negatively correlated with the attitudinal measures, suggesting that individuals who evidenced more discriminatory attitudes had more negative attitudes toward the couples described in the adoption vignette. The ATLG and its subscales were highly correlated with the EBS, MHS-G, and MHS-L. Aside from the intercorrelations between total scale scores and subscales, all other intercorrelations fell within the low-to-moderate range. Only the transcendence subscale of the SRQ yielded a significant correlation with social desirability bias as measured by the SDS-17. Exposure to gay and lesbian acquaintances yielded low, but significant, negative correlations with the attitudinal measures and a positive correlation with the AVS, suggesting that participants who have greater exposure

to gay and lesbian individuals are more likely to have favourable attitudes toward adoptive couples and less likely to have prejudiced attitudes on the dimensions of interest.

To test hypothesis one, a one-way ANOVA was conducted, which predicted that vignettes describing heterosexual couples would be rated more favourably than the vignettes describing gay and lesbian couples. Levene's test for homogeneity of variance was found to be significant; therefore, Welch's test was interpreted. The analysis revealed no significant differences in AVS scores based on sexual orientation of the couple, $F(2, 299) = 1.28$, $p = .279$, suggesting that participants rated gay ($M = 51.40$; $SD = 7.46$), lesbian ($M = 51.29$; $SD = 7.12$), and heterosexual ($M = 52.25$; $SD = 5.50$) couples similarly. One-way ANOVAs were then conducted on individual items to determine if there existed specific concerns in relation to the sexual orientation of the adoptive parents. Using a Bonferroni correction to account for multiple comparisons, a statistically significant main effect of sexual orientation was obtained, $F(2, 295) = 13.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .05$, when participants were asked whether "a child adopted by the couple would grow up like any child to have a 'normal' life." A Games-Howell post hoc analysis, which does not assume equal variances, indicated that gay ($M = 3.71$, $SD = .98$) and lesbian ($M = 3.72$, $SD = .99$) couples were judged significantly more negatively on this item than heterosexual couples ($M = 4.11$, $SD = .71$). Additionally, a significant main effect for sexual orientation of the adoptive couples was found using Welch's test for the reverse-coded item "I am worried that a child adopted by this couple would grow up to have gender identity problems," $F(2, 294) = 9.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$. A Games-Howell post hoc analysis revealed that gay ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 1.20$) and lesbian ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 1.10$) couples were rated significantly more negatively on this item than heterosexual couples ($M = 4.17$, $SD = .83$). Therefore, while hypothesis one was not confirmed, participants appeared to worry about the gender identity formation of adoptive

children of gay and lesbian couples and about the ability of gay and lesbian adoptive parents to provide children with a 'normal' life.

For hypothesis two, a paired-samples t-test was conducted to determine if ratings for male and female children were different for lesbian, gay, and heterosexual couples. It was hypothesised that lesbian couples would be rated more favourably when participants were considering awarding them a female child to adopt than when participants were considering awarding them a male child. The analysis revealed that participants who rated lesbian couples were no more likely to rate them favourably when considering awarding them a male child (M = 3.19; SD = 0.81) versus a female child (M = 3.28; SD = 0.84), $t(155) = -.53$, $p = .600$. A negative score denotes that participants were more likely to approve of the placement of a female child, while a positive score reflects greater approval of the placement of a male child. For gay male couples, given the literature suggesting that some people hold the belief that gay men have a proclivity to abuse male children (DeCrescenzo, 1984; Kite & Deaux, 1987; Page & Yee, 1985; Testa et al., 1987), it was predicted that they would be rated less favourably when participants considered placements with male children than with female children. The paired-samples t-test demonstrated that among participants who rated gay couples there were no significant differences in ratings depending on whether the child was male (M = 3.28; SD = 0.85) or female (M = 3.26; SD = 0.85), $t(147) = .60$, $p = .551$. Finally, no significant difference was expected to emerge based on the child's sex for ratings of heterosexual couple. This hypothesis was confirmed. No significant differences were found in participants' approval of placements of male (M = 3.24; SD = 0.79) or female (M = 3.31; SD = 0.79) children with heterosexual adoptive couples, $t(201) = -1.18$, $p = .240$.

Hypothesis three, which predicted that among each sexual orientation group (i.e., heterosexual, lesbian, and gay) vignettes describing couples comprising both gender role models would be rated more favourably than those who were comprised of only masculine or only feminine role models, was assessed using a 2 (Partner A abides by gender role stereotype, Partner A does not abide by gender role stereotype) x 2 (Partner B abides by gender role stereotype, Partner B does not abide by gender role stereotype) x 3 (sexual orientation of couple: heterosexual, lesbian, gay) ANCOVA. The analysis yielded a significant Levene's test; however, the variance ratio did not exceed the critical value so the assumption of homogeneity of variance was tenable. A significant three-way interaction was found, $F(2, 493) = 3.03$, $p = .049$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Individual ANCOVAs were then conducted to examine whether a two-way interaction existed for the three couple types. The statistical analysis for the heterosexual couple vignettes produced a significant Levene's test; however, the variance ratio did not exceed the critical value. The analysis revealed that, among those who rated vignettes describing heterosexual couples, there was no significant interaction, $F(1, 197) = .117$, $p = .732$. However, a significant main effect was found for Partner B, $F(1, 197) = 5.48$, $p = .020$, $\eta^2 = .03$, with participants rating Partner B significantly more favourably when he exhibited atypical gender role characteristics ($M = 53.18$, $SD = 5.59$) than when he exhibited typical gender role characteristics ($M = 51.47$; $SD = 5.33$).

The ANCOVA for the vignettes describing lesbian couples yielded a significant Levene's test. The variance ratio did not exceed the critical value so the assumption of homogeneity of variance was not considered violated. The analysis revealed a significant interaction between Partner A and Partner B, $F(1, 151) = 7.84$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .05$, and upon examination of the means, the results suggested that lesbian couples that consisted of a partner who abided by her gender role stereotypes (i.e., feminine) and a partner who did not abide by her gender role

stereotypes (i.e., masculine) were rated significantly more favourably than the lesbian couple who both displayed typical (i.e., feminine) characteristics. A one-way ANOVA was then performed using the gender role combinations of the lesbian partners described in the three vignettes (i.e., masculine/feminine combination, feminine/feminine combination, masculine/masculine combination) to determine which groups differed from one another on the AVS. For those who rated vignettes describing lesbian couples, Welch's test revealed a significant effect, $F(2, 97) = 4.76$, $p = .011$, $\eta^2 = 2.95$, and a Games-Howell post hoc analysis revealed that the lesbian couple vignettes describing one partner exhibiting masculine characteristics and one exhibiting feminine characteristics ($M = 53.44$; $SD = 5.58$) were rated significantly more favourably than the pair who both exhibited masculine characteristics ($M = 50.50$; $SD = 6.97$) and the couple who both exhibited feminine characteristics ($M = 49.73$; $SD = 8.28$).

Hypothesis three on attitudes toward the gay adoptive couples was not confirmed. The ANCOVA revealed no significant effects for Partner A, $F(1, 143) = 0.218$, $p = .642$, Partner B, $F(1, 143) = 0.146$, p, $= .703$, or the interaction between Partner A and Partner B, $F(1, 143) = 0.993$, $p = .321$. These results suggest that gender role characteristics of adoptive lesbian couples, and the gender role characteristics of the man in heterosexual couples affect individuals' attitudes toward their suitability to adopt; however, gay couples were rated similarly regardless of their gender role characteristics.

Based on hypotheses four through nine, it was predicted that participants who evidence greater levels of old-fashioned and modern homonegativity (as measured by the ATLG [Herek, 1988] and the MHS [Morrison & Morrison, 2002], respectively), higher levels of benevolent and hostile sexism (as measured by the ASI [Glick & Fiske, 1996]), and greater traditional beliefs

about gender roles (as measured by the SRQ [Baber & Tucker, 2006]) would rate gay and lesbian couples less favourably. Also, it was hypothesised that those who express the belief that sexual orientation is a result of social learning or choice (as measured by the EBS [Rye & Meaney, 2010]), those who are male, and those who are more religiously inclined would rate same-sex couples less favourably.

For the analysis, survey format was included in the first step to serve as a covariate so that any variance associated with participants' use of the PAWS Campus Portal versus the psychology participant pool system would be eliminated when considering the other variables of interest. Level of religiosity and gender were included in the second step of the equation and finally the attitudinal measures (i.e., ASI-Hostile, ASI-Benevolent, ATLG, MHS, EBS, and SRQ) were entered to determine if these belief systems (i.e., hostile and benevolent sexism, old-fashioned and modern homonegativity toward lesbian women and gay men, aetiology of homosexuality, and social role beliefs) would account for variance in adoption attitudes over and above the demographic variables. For a summary of the hierarchical regression analysis see Table 4. The first step of the multiple regression analysis was statistically significant, $F(1, 289) = 4.38$, $p = .037$, with system type making a significant contribution to the model, $t(289) = 2.09$, $p = .037$, which accounted for 1.5% of unique variance in vignette ratings. The second step in the regression analysis also was significant, $F(3, 287) = 16.72$, $p < .001$. Gender emerged as a statistically significant predictor of attitudes toward adoptive couples, $t(287) = 2.06$, $p = .040$, and accounted for an additional 1.3% of the variance in AVS ratings. Religiosity also was found to be a statistically significant predictor, $t(287) = 6.57$, $p < .001$, and accounted for 12.8% of unique variance in vignette ratings. The final step of the regression analysis, which considered the attitudinal measures, was significant, $F(9, 281) = 32.84$, $p < .001$. Only old-fashioned

homonegativity toward lesbians and gay men, $t(281) = -7.78$, $p < .001$, and beliefs about the aetiology of homosexuality, $t(281) = -2.00$, $p = .046$, emerged as significant predictors of attitudes toward same-sex adoptive couples, and accounted for 10.5% and 0.7% of unique variance in vignette ratings, respectively.

Given that the statistical tests for hypothesis three revealed differences in ratings on the AVS for vignettes describing lesbian couples but not for those describing gay couples, separate regression analyses were conducted. Variables were included in the same order as the previous hierarchical regression. To see a summary of the regression analysis for the lesbian vignettes see Table 5, and Table 6 for an overview of the analysis of gay couple vignettes. The first step of the regression for the lesbian couple vignettes ($n = 147$), which included the system type used by participants, was not statistically significant, $F(1, 145) = 1.23$, $p = .270$. However, the second step in the regression analysis was statistically significant, $F(3, 143) = 18.37$, $p < .001$. Only religiosity emerged as a significant predictor, $t(143) = 7.31$, $p < .001$, and accounted for 26.9% of unique variance in vignette ratings. The final step of the regression analysis also was statistically significant, $F(9, 137) = 18.20$, $p < .001$. Only old-fashioned homonegativity, $t(137) = -5.44$, $p < .001$, emerged as a statistically significant predictor of attitudes toward lesbian adoptive couples, accounting for 9.9% of unique variance in vignette ratings.

For the regression analysis of the gay couple vignettes ($n = 144$), the first step was not statistically significant, $F(1, 142) = 3.48$, $p = .064$. However, the second step in the regression analysis was statistically significant, $F(3, 140) = 3.87$, $p = .011$. Like the regression analysis of the lesbian adoptive couples, only religiosity was found to be a statistically significant predictor in step 2, $t(140) = 2.24$, $p = .027$, and accounted for 3.3% of unique variance in vignette ratings. The final step of the regression analysis was statistically significant, $F(9, 134) = 15.67$, $p < .001$.

Only old-fashioned homonegativity, $t(134) = -4.98$, $p < .001$, emerged as a significant predictor of attitudes toward gay adoptive couples. Old-fashioned homonegativity accounted for 9.0% of unique variance in vignette ratings for the gay couples.

Chapter Five – Discussion

The present study was designed to investigate attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples while considering how their gender role characteristics may affect these attitudes. This study also attempted to assess whether the adoptive child's sex would affect individuals' attitudes toward the couples. Finally, building upon previous studies (Crawford et al., 1999; Rye & Meaney, 2010), variables that could serve as predictors of attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples were further investigated.

The first hypothesis in the present study was not confirmed. Instead, results revealed that attitudes toward adoption did not differ based on the sexual orientation of the potential adoptive couple. These findings represent a contradiction to past research on attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples. Crawford et al. (1999), Crawford and Solliday (1996), and Rye and Meaney (2010) found that vignettes describing heterosexual couples were rated significantly more favourably than those describing same-sex couples. However, similarly to the present study, Camilleri and Ryan (2006) found that there were no significant differences among social work students' ratings of adoption vignettes describing heterosexual, gay, and lesbian adoptive couples. It is difficult to speculate over the reason for these mixed findings; however, some differences may be due to the time frame of the studies or the vignettes used. Crawford et al.'s (1999) and Crawford and Solliday's (1996) studies were conducted over ten years ago when attitudes toward homosexuality were significantly more negative than they are today (Hicks & Lee, 2006; Newman, 2007). Additionally, the findings from the present study may differ from those of Rye and Meaney (2010) given that the vignettes used in the present study provided additional details about the adoptive couple (i.e., health history, leisure activities, education levels) that were not included in Rye and Meaney's (2010) vignettes. By providing more

information about the couple, it is possible that participants based their ratings on factors other than sexual orientation. No details were provided about the vignettes used by Camilleri and Ryan (2006).

Despite the non-significant findings for hypothesis one, the results should be interpreted cautiously given that the analyses of individual items from the AVS found that participants expressed concerns about the ability of gay and lesbian couples to provide a child with a 'normal' life and whether children of gay and lesbian couples could adequately develop their gender identity. These are two concerns that centre prominently in the arguments of those individuals and groups who oppose adoption by same-sex couples (see Patterson [2000] for a review of arguments against adoption by same-sex couples). For instance, Clarke and Kitzinger (2005) and Hicks (2008) have noted that opponents of adoption by gay and lesbian couples are particularly concerned about the development of children's gender identity and may cite this as a reason to prevent the placement of infants or toddlers with same-sex couples. Moreover, Hicks (2008) found that social workers considered gay- and lesbian-headed families as being fundamentally different than those families headed by heterosexual parents and, therefore, as being unable to provide a child with a 'normal' upbringing. Based on the emphasis placed on these concerns by both opponents of adoption by same-sex couples and social workers, whose decisions are paramount in determining the outcome of gay and lesbian couples' adoptive applications, the significance of these findings should be considered when forming conclusions about individuals' overall attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples.

Hypothesis two, which predicted that gay and lesbian couples would be rated more positively when participants considered awarding them a female child than when awarding them a male child, was not confirmed. However, hypothesis two also predicted that no significant

difference would emerge based on the child's sex for ratings of heterosexual couples and this was supported. No significant differences emerged based on child's sex for any of the couples. Most of the past research on attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples have only used vignettes describing a male child (Crawford & Solliday, 1996; Rye & Meaney, 2010) or have not specified the child's sex (Camilleri & Ryan, 2006). The only known study of this type to consider both male and female children found that participants were significantly more concerned about lesbian couples' capability to raise a male child than a female child (Crawford et al., 1999). However, no significant differences were found for gay and heterosexual couples (Crawford et al., 1999).

It is possible that no significant differences emerged based on sex of the child because it was not made salient for participants. In past studies (e.g., Crawford & Solliday, 1996; Rye & Meaney, 2010), the sex of the child, his or her age, and his or her name were included in the vignette description. In the present study, participants were simply asked how qualified they felt the couple was to receive a male or female child placement and these questions were asked along with a number of other questions pertaining to the adoptive couple. Without including the description of a specific child to be adopted, along with personal descriptors (i.e., name and age), the child's sex may not have been salient to participants. In fact, 64% of participants reported that they neither agreed nor disagreed that the adoptive couple should be awarded a male child and 62% provided that response to the question relating to a female child.[2] This response option was only selected 7% to 23% of the time on all other questions related to the adoptive couple.

[2] The statistical analyses for hypothesis two were then conducted with the exclusion of participants who selected "neither agree nor disagree." The analyses yielded no significant differences based on the sex of the child for any of the couple types. However, in these analyses, the power was significantly reduced due to the limited number of participants who chose responses other than "neither agree nor disagree."

This lack of variability on questions about the child's sex suggests that these items may not have adequately assessed participants' attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples of either a female or male child. Additionally, it should be noted that a Likert scale was used to assess how likely participants thought a male or female child should be placed with the adoptive couple. This response method was chosen because these two questions were included in the AVS, which uses a Likert scale response format. A dichotomous yes/no response format would likely have yielded a more straightforward understanding of participants' approval of placements of male and female children and should be considered in future research.

Hypothesis three, which predicted that among each sexual orientation, vignettes describing couples who are comprised of one partner who exhibited masculine characteristics and one who displayed feminine characteristics would be rated significantly higher than the other couple combinations was confirmed for lesbian couples, but not for heterosexual or gay male couples. However, for heterosexual couples, the findings revealed an interesting pattern pertaining to the couples' gender role characteristics. Heterosexual couples were rated higher when Partner B (i.e., the male partner) exhibited atypical gender role characteristics. While, this is in contrast to past research which has found that individuals who violate their socially assigned gender roles are rated more negatively than those who abide by their socially assigned gender roles (Brescoll & Ulhmann, 2005; Heilman et al., 2004; Rudman, 1998; Wiley & Eskilson, 1985); this finding could be explained by a recent shift in the expectations of fathers to provide more 'hands-on' care for their children (Gill, 2003; Lupton & Barclay, 1997; Wall & Arnold, 2007). In a statewide survey of 1,010 households in South Carolina, Andrews, Luckey, Bolden, Whiting-Fickling, and Lind (2004) found that the majority of respondents expected fathers to perform daily care activities for their children, offer guidance, and provide emotional and

financial support. In particular, Wall and Arnold (2007) observe that, in western societies, 'new fathers' are now expected to be more nurturing and emotionally involved with their children, characteristics that have traditionally been associated with femininity (Thomas, 2003) and mothering (Einwohner, Hollander, & Olson, 2000). It is possible that participants considered heterosexual male partners who exhibited feminine characteristics as more capable of fulfilling the emotional and nurturing responsibilities expected of 'new fathers.'

Lesbian couples were rated significantly higher when one of the partners exhibited masculine gender role characteristics and the other partner exhibited feminine gender role characteristics when compared to the lesbian couples consisting of both partners displaying masculine characteristics or both partners displaying feminine characteristics. Several studies have found that concerns exist about parents' ability to provide both male and female gender role models (e.g., Clarke & Kitzinger, 2005; Hicks, 2008). Participants may have perceived a lesbian couple with both masculine and feminine partners to be able to provide both gender role models as they better epitomised the traditional heterosexual couple. Participants who were presented with the vignettes describing a lesbian couple in which both partners exhibit feminine characteristics may have been concerned about the lack of a male role model. Previous research has demonstrated that an argument exists about the importance of male role models (Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999), and has shown that lesbian adoptive couples often have to provide evidence that there will be men in their children's lives (Clarke & Kitzinger, 2005).

Participants given the vignette describing the lesbian couple in which both partners displayed masculine characteristics may also have been considered about the inability of the couple to provide both gender role models. Alternatively, participants may have rated the couple more negatively due to the gender role violations of the couple. Social role theory (Eagly, 1987)

suggests that men and women are regarded more negatively when they violate their socially expected gender role behaviour and Brescoll and Ulhmann (2005) have shown that this finding is consistent for parents who violate their stereotypical gender norms. However, this pattern did not emerge for gay couples. These couples were rated similarly regardless of what gender role characteristics they exhibited.

In the case of the vignette describing a heterosexual or gay male couple in which both partners exhibit feminine characteristics, the presence of a male appeared to preclude the importance placed on behaving according to one's socially assigned gender role. Participants may have perceived that, to some degree, the couple would still be able to provide children with acceptable male gender role models due to the fact that a man (or men) were present. Clarke and Kitzinger (2005) found in their study investigating the importance of male role models that lesbian women had to provide evidence that men, regardless of gender role characteristics, would be present in their children's lives. These findings suggest that, in the case of male role models, biological sex is more important than gender role characteristics.

Hypotheses four through nine were partially confirmed with gender, religiosity, old-fashioned homonegativity toward lesbians and gay men, and the beliefs about the aetiology of homosexuality emerging as statistically significant predictors of attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples. Specifically, religiosity and old-fashioned homonegativity were found to be stronger predictors of attitudes toward adoption by gay and lesbian couples, accounting for 12.8% and 10.5% of unique variance in vignette ratings, respectively. Gender and beliefs about the aetiology of homosexuality emerged as weaker predictors, accounting for 1.3% and 0.7% of unique variance in AVS scores, respectively. These findings are, in part, consistent with previous research on attitudes toward homosexuality which have demonstrated that being male, having

higher levels of religiosity, greater levels of homonegativity, and having the belief that homosexuality is a result of social learning or choice predict negative attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples (Crawford et al., 1999; Rye & Meaney, 2010). However, contrary to Rye and Meaney's (2010) investigation of predictors of attitudes toward gay and lesbian adoption, hostile and benevolent sexism did not emerge as statistically significant predictors of attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples.

Given that participants seemed to consider the gender role characteristics of lesbian couples but not of gay couples, individual analyses were conducted for both gay and lesbian vignettes. Religiosity emerged as a strong predictor of attitudes toward adoption by lesbian couples accounting for 26.9% of variance in vignettes ratings. However, for gay men, religiosity was found to be a weak predictor of attitudes toward adoption by gay men, accounting for 3.3% of unique variance in AVS scores. Additionally, for both regression analyses, old-fashioned homonegativity was found to be a moderate predictor, accounting for 9.9% of unique variance in attitudes toward adoption by lesbian women and 9.0% in attitudes toward adoption by gay men. The regression analyses suggest that predictors of attitudes toward adoption by both lesbian couples and gay male couples are similar; however, religiosity appears to be a stronger predictor of attitudes toward adoption by lesbian couples.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the present study provides valuable insight on attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples, the research on this topic still remains relatively mixed, suggesting that additional studies are needed. For example, while other studies have found significant differences between individuals' ratings of vignettes describing adoptive parents of different sexual orientations, no significant differences emerged in the present study. However, it should

be acknowledged that despite the non-significant finding based on sexual orientation, the present study found that participants expressed two specific concerns relating to the ability of gay and lesbian couples to provide a child with a 'normal' life and whether children of gay and lesbian couples could adequately develop their gender identity. This finding suggests that, while individuals may rate couples of different sexual orientations similarly when various issues are raised, specific concerns may exist depending on sexual orientation. Future research should be conducted on attitudes toward adoption by couples of different sexual orientations to provide a better understanding of what specific concerns lead to individuals' tendency to rate these groups differently. Furthermore, the two points that were of concern to participants provide supportive evidence that research should be conducted on the perceived importance of gender role models within the context of adoption by same-sex couples. Also, given that the development of gender identity is of particular concern for social workers when considering the placement of infants and toddlers (Brodzinsky et al., 2002; Hicks, 2008), future research should include the age of the child to be adopted.

Similar to the limitation related to the omission of age, a notable shortcoming of the present study was that only one item for each sex was used to assess whether adoptive parents would be qualified to adopt a male or female child. One item may not have been sufficient to find any differences based on sex of the child to be adopted. Given that the present study is one of the few to consider adoption of a female child by same-sex couples, future research should test this hypothesis while making the sex of the child more salient to participants. This could be accomplished by having more than one item relating to the child's sex, by giving the child a specific name, or by including a description of the child in the vignettes.

The vignettes themselves also represent a limitation to the present study. Although the career choices and leisure activities serving as the gender role manipulations for Phase II were tested to ensure that participants were associating them with masculinity and femininity, it was unknown how participants processed them when reading the vignettes. Several additional pieces of descriptive information about the adoptive couples were included in the vignettes and different points may have been more or less salient for different participants. Future research should examine what features of adoptive couples are most important to individuals and what attributes they most remember after reading descriptions of adoptive couples. These findings could provide researchers using vignettes to examine attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples with insight as to the optimal methods to construct their couple descriptions. Furthermore, a notable limitation in the present study is that no manipulation check was administered to participants after they completed the study to verify that they had observed the sexual orientation of the couple (i.e., based on the gender of the partners) and whether they had attended to the gender roles associated with the partners career choices and leisure activities. Future research using vignettes to investigate attitudes toward same-sex adoptive couples should ensure that a manipulation check is performed following participants' completion of the study.

Additionally, researchers should employ innovative methods for assessing how gender roles affect attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples. The present study manipulated career choices and leisure activities; however, there are many other ways in which individuals are classified as masculine or feminine. For example, Rogers and Ritter (2002) found that individuals' judge gender-typical behaviour based on how masculine or feminine they consider people's appearance. Moreover, research has shown that the level of masculinity and femininity of people's appearance is related to ratings of sexual orientation, with masculine-looking women

and feminine-looking men being rated more often as homosexual (Dunkle & Francis, 1990; Rieger, Linsenmeier, Gygax, Garcia, & Bailey, 2010). Given these links between masculinity, femininity, and sexual orientation, future research should consider showing images of prospective adoptive couples to determine how masculine and feminine appearances affect attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples.

Given that this study found that participants' appeared to value the presence of both a masculine and feminine role model in lesbian couples, future research should investigate how this belief affects attitudes toward adoption by lesbian women and their adoption experiences. As a similar pattern did not emerge for gay men, it suggests that individuals' attitudes toward lesbian adoptive couples may be fundamentally different than their attitudes toward gay male adoptive couples. Researchers should consider conducting a qualitative study to investigate in detail how attitudes toward lesbian adoptive couples and gay adoptive couples differ. Further, given that the present study found that heterosexual couples were rated more favourably when the male partner violated his socially assigned masculine gender role, while gay men were neither punished nor celebrated for displaying either gender role, future research should examine attitudes toward fathers, both heterosexual and homosexual, who display typical and atypical gender role characteristics. Like the present study, vignettes could be used to experimentally investigate this topic, or researchers could use a qualitative approach to understand how attitudes differ depending on fathers' gender roles.

Also, researchers should consider employing implicit means to measure attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples, such as neuroimaging techniques and the IAT, as these methods could elucidate participants' unconscious attitudes toward same-sex couples (Greenwald et al., 1998; Phelps & Thomas, 2003). For example, Cunningham et al. (2004) employed functional

magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) to determine the role of specific brain structures in race bias. The researchers found that White participants respond to Black faces using a combination of automatic negative processing and controlled positive processing, which were found to activate areas of the amygdala and frontal cortex, respectively. By employing neuroimaging techniques, Cunningham et al. (2004) were able to further understand how explicit and implicit reactions interact to form individuals' attitudes toward persons of a different race. These types of implicit research endeavours also may be able to provide better understanding of individuals' attitudes toward adoption by gay and lesbian couples.

Finally, based on the results of the present study and previous studies related to attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples, researchers should consider moving toward creating interventions to change the existing negative attitudes. The present study found that exposure to gay and lesbian individuals are, to some extent, related to greater positive attitudes toward adoptive couples. This finding is similar to that of Choi et al. (2006), who found that exposure to gay and lesbian parents and training related to gay and lesbian issues predicted more positive attitudes toward these groups. With further qualitative inquiry as to the nature of negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian adoptive couples, along with the insight provided from the present study as to what specific prejudicial attitudes could be targeted (i.e., that gay and lesbian parents cannot provide a child with a 'normal' life and that children of gay and lesbian may develop gender identity problems), interventions could be developed to improve attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples.

Conclusion

The findings of the current study suggest that the perceived importance of gender role models, particularly for lesbian couples, affect individuals' attitudes toward adoption by same-

sex couples. Participants' gender, level of religiosity, old-fashioned homonegativity, and beliefs about the aetiology of homosexuality were found to predict attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples. Based on the findings of the current study, researchers should consider individuals' gender roles when conducting studies on adoption by same-sex couples and those involved in the adoption process should be cognisant that gender role characteristics may affect decisions toward the suitability of prospective adoptive parents.

Chapter Six – References

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Appendix A
Phase I Vignettes

Bradley, 28, has decided to adopt a child. Over the past year he has been completing all the necessary paperwork to be approved to have a child placed with him. Bradley has a Bachelor degree and is secure in his career as a [police officer][elementary school teacher][nurse][fire-fighter][naval officer][electrician][social worker] and is paid well. Bradley owns a three-bedroom house in a family friendly neighbourhood in the city. He enjoys [fishing][sewing] [dance, particularly ballet][kickboxing][sports, particularly hockey][snowmobiling][figure skating][playing piano]. Bradley's parents are both excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever Bradley needs help. Bradley has taken a full physical to assure that he will be around for his new child and no health problems were found.

1. Select a number, from 1 to 10 (1 being very masculine and 10 being very feminine), reflecting how masculine or feminine you consider Bradley's career choice.

Very Masculine 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very Feminine

2. Select a number, from 1 to 10 (1 being very masculine and 10 being very feminine), reflecting how masculine or feminine you consider Bradley's hobbies.

Very Masculine 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very Feminine

Barbara, 29-years-old, has now filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. Barbara has a completed a university diploma and is now a [police officer] [elementary school teacher][nurse][fire-fighter][naval officer][electrician][social worker]. Barbara looks forward to teaching her child to [fish][sew][dance, particularly ballet][kick box][play sports, particularly hockey][snowmobile][figure skate][play piano]. Barbara lives in a three-bedroom townhouse close to a number of parks and an elementary school. Barbara's father died in a car accident when she was a teenager but her mother will be around to help with the child. Barbara never gets sick and expects to live for a long time to look after her new child.

1. Select a number, from 1 to 10 (1 being very masculine and 10 being very feminine), reflecting how masculine or feminine you consider Barbara's career choice.

Very Masculine 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very Feminine

2. Select a number, from 1 to 10 (1 being very masculine and 10 being very feminine), reflecting how masculine or feminine you consider Barbara's hobbies.

Very Masculine 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very Feminine

Benjamin, 27 has wanted to start a family for some time now and six months ago he began the process of adopting a child. Benjamin has attended university and lives in a three-bedroom house

in a suburb outside the city. Benjamin loves his job as a [police officer][elementary school teacher][nurse][fire-fighter][naval officer][electrician] [social worker] and enjoys [fishing][sewing] [dance, particularly ballet][kickboxing][sports, particularly hockey][snowmobiling][figure skating][playing piano]. Benjamin's parents live in the same city and are willing to babysit for their new grandchild whenever needed. Benjamin was given a clean bill of health during his last medical visits.

1. Select a number, from 1 to 10 (1 being very masculine and 10 being very feminine), reflecting how masculine or feminine you consider Benjamin's career choice.

Very Masculine 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very Feminine

2. Select a number, from 1 to 10 (1 being very masculine and 10 being very feminine), reflecting how masculine or feminine you consider Benjamin's hobbies.

Very Masculine 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very Feminine

Bethany, 26, has always wanted children and looks forward to having a big family. The first step in her adoption paperwork has just been approved and she is excited at the possibility of having a child placed with her. After receiving a university degree, Bethany decided to become a [police officer][elementary school teacher][nurse][fire-fighter][naval officer][electrician][social worker]. She lives in the three-bedroom house that her parents gave her so she could start a family in the same house she had grown up in on the outskirts of the city. Although her parents now live an hour away, they are always stopping in to visit with her. Bethany loves [fishing][sewing] [dance, particularly ballet][kickboxing][sports, particularly hockey][snowmobiling][figure skating] [playing piano] and hopes that her new child will as well. Bethany eats well and exercises on a regular basis and has always been a very healthy person.

1. Select a number, from 1 to 10 (1 being very masculine and 10 being very feminine), reflecting how masculine or feminine you consider Bethany's career choice.

Very Masculine 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very Feminine

2. Select a number, from 1 to 10 (1 being very masculine and 10 being very feminine), reflecting how masculine or feminine you consider Bethany's hobbies.

Very Masculine 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very Feminine

Notes

[1] The names were randomised across the vignettes.

[2] Within each vignette, only one item in the brackets were selected for career choice and one for the leisure activities.

Appendix B
Phase I Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a study to pilot the effectiveness of adoption vignettes. Please read this form carefully, and feel free to ask any questions you might have.

Researcher: Jessica McCutcheon, M.A. Candidate, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-1773, jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca; Melanie Morrison, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-2564, melanie.morrison@usask.ca

Purpose and Procedure: The purpose of the present study is to pilot adoption vignettes to assess their effectiveness for a future study on attitudes toward adoption. In this study, you will be asked to complete a short computerised task and then read through a vignette describing an individual applying to adopt a child. The study should take approximately one half hour.

Potential Risks: There are no known potential risks associated with the present study. If you have any questions or concerns you may contact the researcher. The student counselling centre's phone number will also be available upon request.

Potential Benefits: Your participation in this study will contribute to our assessment of the qualities of our vignettes. The vignettes will then be used to assess beliefs toward what type of couples are considered appropriate for adopting children. Also, your participation in this study will provide you with academic credit towards your final mark in General Psychology should you be enrolled in the course.

Storage of Data: The data (from the computerised task and the vignettes) will be stored in Dr. Morrison's laboratory for a minimum of five years. The data will be further safeguarded on a password-encrypted computer and in a locked filing cabinet, respectively.

Confidentiality: The data will be kept on a password-encrypted computer and a in locked filing cabinet for a minimum of five years in Dr. Morrison's laboratory. Consent forms, names, and other identifying information will be stored separately from the data. Every effort will be made to ensure that the participants are not individually identifiable. Please do not put any identifiable information on the vignette forms. Individual data will not be used. Aggregate data will be reported in journal articles, as well as in poster format for conference purposes.

Right to Withdraw: You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without penalty of any sort and without loss of your course credit. If you withdraw from the study at any time, any data that you have contributed will be destroyed.

Questions: If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to ask at any point; you are also free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided above if you have questions at a later date. This study has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Sciences Research Ethics Board on February 22, 2011. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the

Office of Research Services (306-966-2084). If you are interested in learning more about this study, please contact Jessica McCutcheon or Melanie Morrison at the numbers provided at the top of this form and more details will be provided.

Consent to Participate: I have read and understood the description provided above; I have been provided with an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered satisfactorily. I consent to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw this consent at any time. A copy of this consent form has been given to me for my records.

_____ _____

(Signature of Participant) (Date)

_____

(Signature of Researcher)

Appendix C
Phase I Debriefing Form

Thank you for participating in this study.

Below, you will find some information related to the vignette questions you completed, as well as the computerised task, known as an implicit association test.

Information:
An implicit association test is an experimental method that measures associations between certain concepts (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). The computerised test you just completed measured your implicit associations between men and women and certain stereotypical attributes related to masculinity and femininity. The implicit association test is able to measure associations that you may not consciously be aware of possessing. The questions related to the vignette you read measured your explicit attitudes and associations. Explicit attitudes are usually measured by self-report and you are aware of them. Your implicit and explicit attitudes may not always be consistent (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002).

Thank you for your participation in this research. If you have questions or additional comments, you can contact the researchers in the following ways:

Jessica McCutcheon
University of Saskatchewan
Phone #: 306-966-1773
E-mail: jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca

Dr. Melanie Morrison
University of Saskatchewan
Phone #: 306-966-6630
E-mail: melanie.morrison@usask.ca

Suggested Readings

Dovidio, J.F., Kawakami, K., & Gaertner, S.L. (2002). Implicit and explicit prejudice and interracial interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*, 62-68.

Greenwald, A.G., McGhee, D.E., & Schwartz, J.L.K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 1464-1480.

Steffens, M.C., & Jonas, K.J. (2010). Implicit attitude measures. *Zeitschrift für Psychologie/Journal of Psychology, 218*, 1-3.

Appendix D
Phase II Vignettes

Version A (heterosexual, woman = feminine, man = masculine)

John and Judy, both 29-years-old, met through mutual friends and have now been together for seven years. They recently decided to start a family and have filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. John and Judy both went to university and received a Bachelor degree. They are now secure in their careers and are paid well. John is a fire-fighter and Judy is a nanny. John enjoys fishing and Judy loves sewing. John and Judy have a three-bedroom house in a suburb outside the city. Both of their parents are excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever John and Judy need help. John and Judy have both taken full physicals to assure they will be around for their new child and they were found to have no health problems.

Version B (heterosexual, woman = feminine, man = feminine)

Jack and Judy, both 29-years-old, met through mutual friends and have now been together for seven years. They recently decided to start a family and have filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. Jack and Judy both went to university and received a Bachelor degree. They are now secure in their careers and are paid well. Jack is a nanny and Judy is a nurse. Jack enjoys sewing and Judy loves ballet. Jack and Judy have a three-bedroom house in a suburb outside the city. Both of their parents are excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever Jack and Judy need help. Jack and Judy have both taken full physicals to assure they will be around for their new child and they were found to have no health problems.

Version C (heterosexual, woman = masculine, man = masculine)

John and Jane, both 29-years-old, met through mutual friends and have now been together for seven years. They recently decided to start a family and have filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. John and Jane both went to university and received a Bachelor degree. They are now secure in their careers and are paid well. John is a soldier and Jane is a fire-fighter. John enjoys hockey and Jane loves fishing. John and Jane have a three-bedroom house in a suburb outside the city and John has gotten assurance from his superiors that he won’t be posted to another base. Both of their parents are excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever John and Jane need help. John and Jane have both taken full physicals to assure they will be around for their new child and they were found to have no health problems.

Version D (heterosexual, woman = masculine, man = feminine)

Jack and Jane, both 29-years-old, met through mutual friends and have now been together for seven years. They recently decided to start a family and have filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. Jack and Jane both went to university and received a Bachelor degree. They are now secure in their careers and are paid well. Jack is a nurse and Jane is a soldier. Jack

enjoys ballet and Jane loves hockey. Jack and Jane have a three-bedroom house in a suburb outside the city and Jane has gotten assurance from her superiors that she won't be posted to another base. Both of their parents are excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever Jack and Jane need help. Jack and Jane have both taken full physicals to assure they will be around for their new child and they were found to have no health problems.

Version E (lesbian, Partner A = feminine, Partner B = masculine)

Jane and Judy, both 29-years-old, met through mutual friends and have now been together for seven years. They recently decided to start a family and have filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. Jane and Judy both went to university and received a Bachelor degree. They are now secure in their careers and are paid well. Jane is a fire-fighter and Judy is a nurse. Jane enjoys hockey and Judy loves sewing. Jane and Judy have a three-bedroom house in a suburb outside the city. Both of their parents are excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever Jane and Judy need help. Jane and Judy have both taken full physicals to assure they will be around for their new child and they were found to have no health problems.

Version F (lesbian, Partner A = feminine, Partner B = feminine)

Jane and Judy, both 29-years-old, met through mutual friends and have now been together for seven years. They recently decided to start a family and have filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. Jane and Judy both went to university and received a Bachelor degree. They are now secure in their careers and are paid well. Jane is a nurse and Judy is a nanny. Jane enjoys ballet and Judy loves sewing. Jane and Judy have a three-bedroom house in a suburb outside the city. Both of their parents are excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever Jane and Judy need help. Jane and Judy have both taken full physicals to assure they will be around for their new child and they were found to have no health problems.

Version G (lesbian, Partner A = masculine, Partner B = masculine)

Judy and Jane, both 29-years-old, met through mutual friends and have now been together for seven years. They recently decided to start a family and have filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. Judy and Jane both went to university and received a Bachelor degree. They are now secure in their careers and are paid well. Judy is a fire-fighter and Jane is a soldier. Judy enjoys fishing and Jane loves hockey. Judy and Jane have a three-bedroom house in a suburb outside the city and Jane has gotten assurance from her superiors that she won't be posted to another base. Both of their parents are excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever Judy and Jane need help. Judy and Jane have both taken full physicals to assure they will be around for their new child and they were found to have no health problems.

Version H (gay, Partner A = feminine, Partner B = masculine)

Jack and John, both 29-years-old, met through mutual friends and have now been together for seven years. They recently decided to start a family and have filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. Jack and John both went to university and received a Bachelor degree. They are now secure in their careers and are paid well. Jack is a nanny and John is a soldier. Jack enjoys ballet and John loves fishing. Jack and John have a three-bedroom house in a suburb outside the city and John has gotten assurance from his superiors that he won't be posted to another base. Both of their parents are excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever Jack and John need help. Jack and John have both taken full physicals to assure they will be around for their new child and they were found to have no health problems.

Version I (gay, Partner A = feminine, Partner B = feminine)

Jack and John, both 29-years-old, met through mutual friends and have now been together for seven years. They recently decided to start a family and have filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. Jack and John both went to university and received a Bachelor degree. They are now secure in their careers and are paid well. Jack is a nanny and John is a nurse. Jack enjoys ballet and John loves sewing. Jack and John have a three-bedroom house in a suburb outside the city. Both of their parents are excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever Jack and John need help. Jack and John have both taken full physicals to assure they will be around for their new child and they were found to have no health problems.

Version J (gay, Partner A = masculine, Partner B = masculine)

John and Jack, both 29-years-old, met through mutual friends and have now been together for seven years. They recently decided to start a family and have filled out all the paperwork required to adopt a child. John and Jack both went to university and received a Bachelor degree. They are now secure in their careers and are paid well. John is a soldier and Jack is a fire-fighter. John enjoys fishing and Jack loves hockey. John and Jack have a three-bedroom house in a suburb outside the city and John has gotten assurance from his superiors that he won't be posted to another base. Both of their parents are excited to be grandparents to the new child and are willing to offer support whenever John and Jack need help. John and Jack have both taken full physicals to assure they will be around for their new child and they were found to have no health problems.

Appendix E
Adoption Vignette Scale
(AVS; Rye & Meaney, 2010)

1. The couple would be able to offer an emotionally stable environment to a child.
2. The couple would be preoccupied with their own relationship and so would NOT have time for a child.*
3. The couple should be awarded custody of a female child.
4. I am NOT worried that a child adopted by this couple may grow up to be gay or lesbian.
5. Any teasing that a child adopted by this couple may experience at school about his or her parents is part of growing up – every kid gets teased about something.
6. This situation is objectionable because a child adopted by this couple would NOT have a good role model in his or her life.*
7. The couple should be awarded custody of a male child.
8. A child adopted by this couple would be raised in a dangerous atmosphere.*
9. The couple would be good parents to a child.
10. The couple would pose a threat to a child's well-being.*
11. A child adopted by this couple would grow up like any child to have a 'normal' life.
12. The couple does NOT have the right qualities that would enable them to raise a child.*
13. I am worried that a child adopted by this couple would grow up to have gender identity problems.*

Notes

[1] Participants responded using a five-point Likert scale *(1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree)*

[2] Scoring is reversed for starred (*) items.

[3] Question 3 and 7 replaced the question "I would award custody to the couple."

[4] "A child" was substituted for "Lucas."

[5] In item 4, "gay or lesbian" was substituted for "gay man."

Appendix F
Ambivalent Sexism Inventory
(ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996)

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."
3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.*
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
5. Women are too easily offended.
6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.*
7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.*
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
12. Every man ought to have a women whom he adores.
13. Men are complete without women.*
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.*
19. Women compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.*
22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Notes

[1] Items 2,4,5,7,10,11,14,15,16,18, and 21 comprise the Hostile Sexism Subscale and items 1,3,6,8,9,12,13,17,19,20, and 22 comprise the Benevolent Sexism Subscale.

[2] Scoring is reversed for starred (*) items.

Appendix G
Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale
(ATLG; Herek, 1988)

1. Lesbians just can't fit into our society.
2. A woman's homosexuality should *not* be a cause for job discrimination in any situation.*
3. Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural divisions between the sexes.
4. State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened.*
5. Female homosexuality is a sin.
6. The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in Canadian morals.
7. Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.*
8. Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.
9. Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.
10. Lesbians are sick.
11. Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.*
12. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.
13. Male homosexuals should *not* be allowed to teach school.
14. Male homosexuality is a perversion.
15. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.*
16. If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.
17. I would *not* be too upset if I learned that my son were a homosexual.*
18. Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.
19. The idea of male homosexual marriages seem ridiculous to me.
20. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should *not* be condemned.*

Notes

[1] Items 1-10 comprise the Attitudes toward Lesbian Subscale and items 11-20 comprise the Attitudes toward Gay Men Subscale.

[2] Scoring is reversed for starred (*) items.

[3] In item 6, 'Canadian' was substituted for 'American.'

Appendix H
Etiology Beliefs Scale
(EBS; Rye & Meaney, 2010)

1. A person who is gay can be changed to a heterosexual orientation through therapy.
2. Sexual orientation is learned.
3. Sexual orientation is determined by the environment in which a person is raised.
4. A person who is gay can be changed to a heterosexual orientation through prayer and help from a clergyperson.
5. A person who is raised by a gay person is more likely to be gay themselves.
6. Sexual orientation is determined by one's genes.*

Notes
[1] Scoring is reversed for starred (*) items.

Appendix I
Modern Homonegativity Scale
(MHS; Morrison & Morrison, 2002)

Modern Homonegativity Scale – Gay Men

1. Many gay men use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.
2. Gay men seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.
3. Gay men do not have all the rights they need.*
4. The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbian Studies is ridiculous.
5. Celebrations such as "Gay Pride Day" are ridiculous because they assume that an individual's sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.
6. Gay men still need to protest for equal rights.*
7. Gay men should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people's throats.
8. If gay men want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.
9. Gay men who are "out of the closet" should be admired for their courage.*
10. Gay men should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.
11. In today's tough economic times, Canadians' tax dollars shouldn't be used to support gay men's organizations.
12. Gay men have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

Modern Homonegativity Scale – Lesbian Women

1. Many lesbians use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.
2. Lesbians seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.
3. Lesbians do not have all the rights they need.*
4. The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbian Studies is ridiculous.
5. Celebrations such as "Gay Pride Day" are ridiculous because they assume that an individual's sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.
6. Lesbians still need to protest for equal rights.*
7. Lesbians should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people's throats.
8. If lesbians want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.
9. Lesbians who are "out of the closet" should be admired for their courage.*
10. Lesbians should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.
11. In today's tough economic times, Canadians' tax dollars shouldn't be used to support lesbian's organizations.
12. Lesbians have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

Notes

[1] Scoring is reversed for starred (*) items.

Appendix J
Social Desirability Scale-17
(SDS-17; Stöber, 2001)

1. I sometimes litter.*
2. I always admit my mistakes openly and face the potentially negative consequences.
3. In traffic I am always polite and considerate of others.
4. I always accept others' opinions, even when they don't agree with my own.
5. I take out my bad moods on others now and then.*
6. There has been an occasion when I took advantage of someone else.*
7. In conversations I always listen attentively and let others finish their sentences.
8. I never hesitate to help someone in case of emergency.
9. When I have made a promise, I keep it – no ifs, ands or buts.
10. I occasionally speak badly of others behind their back.*
11. I would never live off other people.
12. I always stay friendly and courteous with other people, even when I am stressed out.
13. During arguments I always stay objective and matter-of-fact.
14. There has been at least one occasion when I failed to return an item that I borrowed.*
15. I always eat a healthy diet.
16. Sometimes I only help because I expect something in return.*

Notes

[1] Scoring is reversed for starred (*) items.

Appendix K
Social Roles Questionnaire
(SRQ; Baber & Tucker, 2006)

1. People can be both aggressive and nurturing regardless of sex.*
2. People should be treated the same regardless of their sex.*
3. The freedom that children are given should be determined by their maturity level and not by their sex.*
4. Tasks around the house should not be assigned by sex.*
5. We should stop thinking about whether people are male or female and focus on other characteristics.*
6. A father's major responsibility is to provide financially for his children.
7. Men are more sexual than women.
8. Some types of work are just not appropriate for women.
9. Mothers should make most decisions about how children are brought up.
10. Mothers should work only if necessary.
11. Girls should be protected and watched over more than boys.
12. Only some types of work are appropriate for both men and women.
13. For many important jobs, it is better to choose men instead of women.

Notes
[1] Items 1-5 comprise the Gender Transcendent Subscale and items 6-13 comprise the Gender-linked Subscale.
[2] Scoring is reversed for starred (*) items.

Appendix L
Demographics Questionnaire

1. What is your age? _____

2. What is your gender? _____

3. What is your sexual orientation? _____

4. What is your race/ethnicity?

- ○ Aboriginal/First Nations/Metis
- ○ African
- ○ Asian
- ○ Caucasian
- ○ Hispanic
- ○ Other (please specify) _____

5. What is your relationship status?

- ○ Single
- ○ Committed relationship, never married
- ○ Common-law
- ○ Married
- ○ Separated
- ○ Divorced
- ○ Other (please specify) _____

6. The average income in my parents' household before taxes is:

- ○ Less than $10,000
- ○ $10,000 – 19,999
- ○ $20,000 – 29,999
- ○ $30,000 – 39,999
- ○ $40,000 – 49,999
- ○ $50,000 – 59,999
- ○ $60,000 – 69,999
- ○ $70,000 – 79,999

- ○ $80,000 – 89,999
- ○ $90,000 – 99,999
- ○ $100,000 or more

7. By my own definition, I would consider myself to be politically:
   - ○ Very liberal
   - ○ Liberal
   - ○ Somewhat liberal
   - ○ Somewhat conservative
   - ○ Conservative
   - ○ Very conservative

8. I attend religious services (*e.g., in a church, synagogue, mosque, etc.)*:
   - ○ Regularly
   - ○ Now and then
   - ○ On special occasions
   - ○ Never

9. By my own definition, I am:
   - ○ Very religious
   - ○ Fairly religious
   - ○ Somewhat religious
   - ○ Not at all religious

10. The number of children I have is: _____

11. The number of gay acquaintances that I have is: _____

12. The number of lesbian acquaintances that I have is: _____

Appendix M
Cover Letter

You are invited to participate in a study to investigate the appropriateness of candidates for adoption. Please read this form carefully, and feel free to ask any questions you might have.

Researcher: Jessica McCutcheon, M.A. Candidate, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-1773, jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca; Melanie Morrison, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-2564, melanie.morrison@usask.ca

Purpose and Procedure: The purpose of the present study is to assess the appropriateness of candidates for adoption. Vignettes will be used to determine which couples are rated as being the best suited to adopt a child. In this study, you will be asked to read through a description of a couple and answer a number of questions pertaining to the couple. You will then be asked to complete a number of questionnaires to allow us to have a better sense of who is responding. We ask you to be as honest as possible in your responses. The study should take approximately one hour.

Potential Risks: There are no known potential risks associated with the present study. If you have any questions or concerns you may contact the researcher. The student counselling centre's phone number is provided.

Potential Benefits: Your participation in this study will contribute to a better understanding of the public's belief in the type of couples that are considered appropriate for adopting children. Also, your participation in this study will provide you with academic credit towards your final mark in General Psychology should you be enrolled in the course.

Storage of Data: The data (the vignettes and questionnaires) will be stored in Dr. Morrison's laboratory for a minimum of five years. The data will be further safeguarded in a locked filing cabinet to which only the researchers will have access.

Confidentiality: The data will be kept in locked filing cabinets for a minimum of five years in Dr. Morrison's laboratory. Consent forms, names, and other identifying information will be stored separately from the data. Every effort will be made to ensure that the participants are not individually identifiable. Please do not put any identifiable information on the questionnaire. Individual data will not be used. Aggregate data will be reported in journal articles, as well as in poster format for conference purposes.

Right to Withdraw: You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without penalty of any sort and without loss of your course credit. If you withdraw from the study at any time, any data that you have contributed will be destroyed.

Questions: If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to ask at any point; you are also free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided above if you have questions at a later date. This study has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of

Saskatchewan Behavioural Sciences Research Ethics Board on February 22, 2011. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Office of Research Services (306-966-2084). If you are interested in learning more about this study, please contact Jessica McCutcheon or Melanie Morrison at the numbers provided at the top of this form and more details will be provided.

Consent to Participate: I have read and understood the description provided above. I consent to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw from the study at any time. Once the survey has been submitted I am providing my consent for my responses to be used by the researcher.

Appendix N
Debriefing Form

Thank you for participating in this study.

Below, you will find some information related to the purpose of the present study as well as some information on the prejudice and discrimination encountered by same-sex couples who are trying to adopt children.

Current Study:
The purpose of the study you just participated in is to assess attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples and to gauge whether these attitudes change based on stereotypical gender role attributes of the couples described in the vignettes. By further understanding what affects negative attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples, we can begin to examine how these attitudes can be improved.

Information:
Although adoption by same-sex couples is legal within Canada, research has suggested that same-sex couples face prejudice and discrimination during the adoption process (Brown, Smalling, Groza, & Ryan, 2009). For example, in a study of Canadian social workers, Sullivan and Harrington (2009) found that rates of application approval for adoption by same-sex couples were similar to those of heterosexual couples; however, same-sex couples were less likely to receive adoptive children. Further, other Canadian studies reveal that sexual minority applicants report longer waiting periods (e.g., Goldberg, Downing, & Sauck, 2007), being asked inappropriate/invasive questions during screening interviews, and being encouraged to adopt specific categories of children (e.g., older children, sibling groups, or those with special needs; Ross, Epstein, Anderson, & Eady, 2009).

A prominent explanation theorised to account for the discriminatory practices experienced by same-sex men and women wishing to adopt children is that gay and lesbian parents will be unable to provide adequate gender role models for their children (Clarke & Kitzinger, 2005; Hicks, 2008).

Thank you for your participation in this research. If you have questions or additional comments, you can contact the researchers in the following ways:

Jessica McCutcheon
University of Saskatchewan
Phone #: 306-966-1773
E-mail: jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca

Dr. Melanie Morrison
University of Saskatchewan
Phone #: 306-966-6630
E-mail: melanie.morrison@usask.ca

University of Saskatchewan's Counselling Centre: 306-966-4920
Saskatoon Crisis Intervention Service: 306-933-6200

Suggested Readings

Brown, S., Smalling, S., Groza, V., & Ryan, S. (2009). The experiences of gay men and lesbians in becoming and being adoptive parents. *Adoption Quarterly, 12*, 229-246.

Clarke, V., & Kitzinger, C. (2005). 'We're not living on planet lesbian': Constructions of male role models in debates about lesbian families. *Sexualities, 8*, 137-152.

Goldberg, A.E., Downing, J.B., & Sauck, C.C. (2007). Choices, challenges, and tensions: Perspectives of lesbian prospective adoptive parents. *Adoption Quarterly, 10*, 33-64.

Hicks, S. (2008). Gender role models…who needs 'em?! *Qualitative Social Work, 7*, 43-59.

Ross, L.E., Epstein, R., Anderson, S., & Eady, A. (2009). Policy, practice, and personal narratives: Experiences of LGBTQ people with adoption in Ontario, Canada. *Adoption Quarterly, 12*, 272-293.

Sullivan, T.R., & Baques, A. (1999). Familism and the adoption option for gay and lesbian parents. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services: Issues in Practice, Policy & Research, 10*, 79-94.

Table 1

Participant demographics

Demographic Characteristics	Total (N = 506)	Female (n = 363)	Male (n = 133)
Age Range	17-61	17-61	17-41
Mean Age	21.61 (SD = 5.20)	21.80 (SD = 5.50)	21.11 (SD = 4.30)
Ethnicity			
Aboriginal	35	25	10
Asian	26	18	8
African	9	3	6
Caucasian	400	296	102
Hispanic	4	3	–
Other	19	16	3
No response	13	2	4
Political Orientation			
Very liberal	42	32	10
Liberal	119	95	23
Somewhat liberal	106	72	34
Somewhat conservative	94	65	29
Conservative	37	27	10
Very conservative	5	4	1
No response	103	68	26
Religiosity			
Very religious	26	22	4
Fairly religious	109	84	25
Somewhat religious	158	116	40
Not at all religious	197	137	58
No response	16	4	6
Religious Attendance			
Regularly	81	56	25
Now and then	105	87	18
On special occasions	142	104	38
Never	165	116	45
No response	13	–	7
Relationship Status			
Single	250	171	77
Committed	181	142	38
Common-law	19	16	3
Married	37	27	10
Separated	1	1	–
Divorced	2	2	–
Other	1	1	–

Table 1 continued

Participant demographics

Demographic Characteristics	Total (N = 506)	Female (n = 363)	Male (n = 133)
Relationship Status			
No response	15	3	5
Annual Parental Income			
Less than $10,000	11	8	3
$10,000-$19,999	8	3	5
$20,000-$29,999	16	15	1
$30,000-$39,999	20	14	6
$40,000-$49,999	19	13	6
$50,000-$59,999	39	28	11
$60,000-$69,999	44	33	11
$70,000-$79,999	40	31	9
$80,000-$89,999	41	31	10
$90,000-$99,999	28	21	7
More than $100,000	133	94	38
No response	107	72	26
Survey Format			
PAWS Campus Portal	184	152	29
Participant Pool	322	211	104

Table 2

Intercorrelations among variables

Measures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
AVS	–													
ASI	-.35**	–												
ASI-H	-.29**	.88**	–											
ASI-B	-.32**	.85**	.50**	–										
ATLG	-.57**	.56**	.45**	.52**	–									
ATLG-G	-.55**	.56**	.46**	.51**	.98**	–								
ATLG-L	-.57**	.53**	.42**	.50**	.97**	.89**	–							
EBS	-.49**	.48**	.40**	.43**	.73**	.72**	.70**	–						
MHS-G	-.45**	.58**	.55**	.46**	.75**	.75**	.70**	.63**	–					
MHS-L	-.47**	.59**	.55**	.47**	.74**	.73**	.71**	.63**	.94**	–				
SRQ	-.38**	.66**	.57**	.58**	.58**	.58**	.54**	.45**	.55**	.56**	–			
SRQ-T	-.35**	.38**	.36**	.31**	.46**	.46**	.45**	.32**	.39**	.41**	.75**	–		
SRQ-L	-.32**	.68**	.57**	.61**	.53**	.53**	.49**	.43**	.53**	.52**	.94**	.48**	–	
SDS-17	.03*	.02	-.01	.05	.06	.05	.07	.05	.02	.02	-.06	-.10*	-.03	–
Exposure	.10*	-.16**	-.11*	-.16**	-.19**	-.20**	-.17**	-.13**	-.20**	-.19**	-.17**	-.16**	-.14**	-.08

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. AVS = Adoption Vignette Scale; ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory; ASI-H = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - Hostile Subscale; ASI-B = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - Benevolent Subscale; ATLG = Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale; ATLG-G = Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale - Gay Men Subscale; ATLG-L = Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale - Lesbian Subscale; EBS = Etiology Beliefs Scale; MHS-G = Modern Homonegativity Scale - Gay Men Subscale; MHS-L = Modern Homonegativity Scale - Lesbian Women Subscale; SRQ = Social Roles Questionnaire; SRQ-T = Social Roles Questionnaire - Gender Transcendence Subscale; SRQ-L = Social Roles Questionnaire - Gender-Linked Subscale; SDS = Social Desirability Scale.

Table 3

Descriptive statistics for variables

	Total (N = 506)				Men (n = 133)				Women (n = 363)			
Measures	*M*	*SD*	*α*	95% CI	*M*	*SD*	*α*	95% CI	*M*	*SD*	*α*	95% CI
AVS	51.71	6.63	.84	.81-.86	51.06	6.29	.82	.77-.86	52.02	6.71	.84	.81-.86
ASI	59.24	11.56	.87	.85-.89	65.76	9.94	.82	.78-.86	56.88	11.28	.87	.84-.88
ASI-H	29.60	6.96	.84	.82-.86	33.12	6.15	.81	.76-.85	28.29	6.84	.83	.80-.85
ASI-B	29.64	6.39	.80	.77-.82	32.64	5.84	.73	.67-.80	28.59	6.24	.80	.77-.83
ATLG	37.93	14.53	.95	.95-.96	41.92	14.73	.95	.94-.96	36.31	14.18	.95	.94-.96
ATLG-G	19.46	8.08	.92	.91-.93	22.19	8.15	.91	.88-.93	18.38	7.85	.92	.90-.93
ATLG-L	18.48	6.86	.90	.89-.91	19.74	7.05	.91	.88-.93	17.93	6.69	.90	.88-.91
EBS	13.21	4.54	.83	.80-.85	14.11	4.34	.79	.73-.84	12.79	4.56	.84	.82-.87
MHS-G	30.36	8.44	.90	.89-.92	32.54	7.19	.86	.83-.80	29.49	8.76	.91	.90-.93
MHS-L	30.49	8.61	.91	.90-.92	32.60	7.07	.86	.83-.90	29.70	9.04	.92	.90-.93
SRQ	27.05	7.07	.82	.80-.84	31.38	6.27	.76	.70-.82	25.38	6.59	.80	.77-.83
SRQ-T	8.45	2.71	.67	.62-.71	9.62	2.57	.60	.48-.70	7.95	2.55	.65	.59-.71
SRQ-L	18.59	5.35	.79	.77-.82	21.75	4.64	.71	.63-.78	17.43	5.12	.79	.75-.82
SDS-17	7.24	3.29	.73	.69-.76	6.93	3.43	.75	.69-.81	7.35	3.22	.72	.67-.76

Note. AVS = Adoption Vignette Scale; ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory; ASI-H = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - Hostile Subscale; ASI-B = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - Benevolent Subscale; ATLG = Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale; ATLG-G = Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale - Gay Men Subscale; ATLG-L = Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale - Lesbian Subscale; EBS = Etiology Beliefs Scale; MHS-G = Modern Homonegativity Scale - Gay Men Subscale; MHS-L = Modern Homonegativity Scale - Lesbian Women Subscale; SRQ = Social Roles Questionnaire; SRQ-T = Social Roles Questionnaire - Gender Transcendence Subscale; SRQ-L = Social Roles Questionnaire - Gender-Linked Subscale; SDS = Social Desirability Scale.

Table 4

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis (N = 291)

Variable	R	R^2	F	β	$R^{2\Delta}$	F^{Δ}
Step 1	.122	.015	4.38*			
System				.122*		
Step 2	.386	.149	16.72**		.134	22.57**
Gender				.115*		
Religiosity				.361**		
Step 3	.716	.513	32.84**		.364	34.96**
ASI-Hostile				.021		
ASI-Benevolent				.030		
ATLG				-.588**		
EBS				-.123*		
MHS				-.086		
SRQ				.042		

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. System (Participant Pool/PAWS); ASI-Hostile = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - Hostile Subscale; ASI-Benevolent = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - Benevolent Subscale; ATLG = Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale; EBS = Etiology Beliefs Scale; MHS = Modern Homonegativity Scale; SRQ = Social Roles Questionnaire

Table 5

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Lesbian Vignettes (N = 147)

Variable	R	R^2	F	β	$R^{2\Delta}$	F^{Δ}
Step 1	.092	.008	1.23			
System				.092		
Step 2	.527	.278	18.37**		.270	26.72**
Gender				.120		
Religiosity				.534**		
Step 3	.738	.545	18.20**		.266	13.37**
ASI-Hostile				-.027		
ASI-Benevolent				.067		
ATLG				-.592**		
EBS				-.110		
MHS				.027		
SRQ				.009		

Note. ** $p < .01$. System (Participant Pool/PAWS); ASI-Hostile = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - Hostile Subscale; ASI-Benevolent = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - Benevolent Subscale; ATLG = Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale; EBS = Etiology Beliefs Scale; MHS = Modern Homonegativity Scale; SRQ = Social Roles Questionnaire

Table 6

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Gay Male Vignettes (N = 144)

Variable	R	R^2	F	β	$R^{2\Delta}$	F^{Δ}
Step 1	.155	.024	3.48			
System				.155		
Step 2	.227	.077	3.87*		.270	4.00*
Gender				.142		
Religiosity				.182*		
Step 3	.716	.513	15.67**		.266	19.99**
ASI-Hostile				.056		
ASI-Benevolent				.012		
ATLG				-.548**		
EBS				-.141		
MHS				-.164		
SRQ				.049		

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. System (Participant Pool/PAWS); ASI-Hostile = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - Hostile Subscale; ASI-Benevolent = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory - Benevolent Subscale; ATLG = Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale; EBS = Etiology Beliefs Scale; MHS = Modern Homonegativity Scale; SRQ = Social Roles Questionnaire